Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-90-220 *14 November 1990*

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People's Assembly 8th Session Continues

Cami, Halili Speak

AU1311183690 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Announcer-read report on first day of People's Assembly session in Tirana on 12 November]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Kruje District Deputy Comrade Foto Cami said: Throughout our country, the great process of democratization is being carried out successfully. We are all witnesses to the dynamic changes taking place in society and in the activity of the party and the state. A new era is opening in front of us. Surveying the great work which has been done so far, the 12th party Central Committee plenum which was held recently set out a range of tasks to give fresh impetus to this process, particularly in a field of such importance as refining the political system. These decisions have been welcomed with enthusiasm and approval everywhere. Our people see once again that the Albanian Workers Party led by Comrade Ramiz Alia is determined to advance unswervingly on the road of democracy, the road we have chosen ourselves, convinced that it corresponds to the interests of the people and the homeland. The draft electoral law, submitted to us for discussion and approval, is a further testimony to democratic developments, and a new step in deepening the process of democratization. This is a very important document, because the democratic character of the state bodies depends to a great extent on the way elections for them, as representatives of the people's will, are held.

The draft law brings significant improvements and changes to our electoral system. These are so numerous and so important that they make them a judicial and political measure marking a new step forward in political democracy in Albania and in the improvement of our political system. There is no doubt that this draft law maintains those basic principles which were in the earlier law, thus ensuring their continued validity. The changes made, however, are of such an extent that they make it a new electoral law, which preserves tradition but also includes what is new and up-to-date. What is particularly outstanding in the new draft law is the pluralism of electoral subjects and pluralism in the formation and activity of the People's Assembly, the state's highest body. People's ability to freely express and defend their opinions is known to be a basic indicator of the development of democracy. Pluralism is something that our society needs, because only through a battle of minds, in a free and democratic atmosphere, can situations be identified and the most correct and rational solutions to problems be found.

This kind of pluralism is supplemented by electoral pluralism, ensuring a more pluralist representation of the masses in the state. The draft law not only declares principles, but provides conditions for their realization. Thus, the party, social organizations, various associations recognized by law, and even individuals have the right to put forward their candidates for deputies in constituencies. In preserving our traditions, the people themselves have the right to put forward candidates for deputies, or to oppose the candidates proposed.

In such an electoral system, the People's Assembly will be composed of representatives of all those who have the right to put forward candidates, who represent various social strata and groups. The People's Assembly will henceforth express even better the will of the people as a whole, as well as certain specially defined strata and groups who, through their deputies in the Assembly, will defend their own specific interests, thus enlivening constructive debate in the discussion of problems and the approval of laws.

The well-known mass organizations and the various associations have no privileges in relation to each other. They are equal subjects, regardless of the number of their members or their role and importance. The law also ensures equal rights for people to decide for themselves how many candidates will stand in a constituency, to carry out propaganda for their candidates by all means, such as meetings, the press, the radio, and the television, and to enjoy free assistance from the state in the form of financial grants to confront their campaigns, if they lack these means.

Two further provisions in the new draft law also serve the idea of pluralism: the principle that no fewer than two candidates should stand in each constituency or the election will not be held, and the other principle that each organization or association may put forward only one candidate in each constituency. This way, voters have a selection of candidates from among whom they can elect the most appropriate, thus ensuring the widest possible representation in the Assembly. The draft law for elections to the People's Assembly is a product of the times, is tied to all the progressive changes taking place in the life of our country, and is a sign of the emancipation of society and the rising democratic culture of our people. It preserves the traditions and distinctiveness of our country and at the same time corresponds to contemporary international standards, those standards, it goes without saying, which are acceptable for our conditions and characteristics.

There is not and cannot be a single model of democracy valid for all countries at all times, Comrade Foto Cami later said, just as their cannot be unified criteria to assess it everywhere in the world. The level of the development of democracy and the forms of its realization are conditioned by a range of economic, political, social, and cultural factors, both internal and external. Democracy assumes a specific and individual aspect adapted to each country. Foreign recipes, therefore, do not fit everywhere; more importantly, their imposition under pressure of various kinds conflicts with the sovereign right of every people to choose and decide its road of development for itself.

In conclusion, Comrade Foto Cami invited the comrade deputies to unanimously approve the submitted draft law, under the conviction that its introduction will inaugurate the changes in the composition and activity of the People's Assembly which the times demand.

At the end of the session, Vlore District Deputy Enver Halili spoke. We are all, he said, witnesses to the fact that the process of the further democratization of life is a phenomenon which is part of the very nature of our socioeconomic order. It is inspired and led by the ideas of the party, and is being carried out successfully today in all fields—in the field of people's thinking and intellectual life, in socioeconomic relations, in the organization and direction of the state, in foreign policy, and in legislation. It is not simply a subjective wish nor a step imposed from abroad. Proceeding consistently, naturally and incessantly on this road, in accordance with the objective conditions of our socio-economic development, people's cultural level, and the level of emancipation of the whole of society, it has been and will remain a principal characteristic and determinant of the development of our socialist society and state. At this point the session ended. [passage omitted]

Alia Proposes Constitutional Changes

AU1311221090 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Speech by Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, at a session of the People's Assembly in Tirana on 13 November—recorded]

[Text] Fellow deputies, the present stage of our socialist development has presented us with the need to review the existing Constitution. This Constitution, approved by the People's Assembly 14 years ago, sanctioned the historical changes and transformations which drew Albania out of medieval backwardness and set it on the road of progress. It also became a powerful support for new achievements in every field. The economy, culture, and all sectors of the country's life experienced visible progress. Albania advanced on the road of strength and toward fulfillment of its new life.

During these years, the Constitution served as a basis for the further consolidation of the power of the people and the protection and strengthening of the social order, but life moves ahead. Situations change; new problems emerge, and new demands are presented. Under these circumstances, our aim must be to preserve the victories we have achieved and build on them at a faster pace.

The measures which have been taken for the development of the economy through the introduction of new mechanisms for its management, for refinements in the political system, for the protection and expansion of the democratic freedoms and rights of citizens, and for the further development of relations of economic cooperation overseas are a natural process in the constant dialectical transformation which is characteristic of our society, and an objective internal demand of its development.

These changes and developments dictate the need for new judicial solutions in our legislation, first in the existing Constitution, with the aim of not only adapting it to the changes, but of opening prospects for the future.

The experience gained in all these years since the promulgation of the 1976 Constitution allows us to assess the precision, justice, and usefulness of the provisions laid down it. The majority of the constitutional provisions proved to be beneficial, and will be so even in the future; however, some provisions in this Constitution have not been proven against time. They must, therefore, be replaced by others. This is natural. We are building a new society, which has still not succeeded in forming its complete physiognomy as a social order. Not only this, but this process must always bear in mind the concrete conditions of the country, especially national characteristics, which demand that we find solutions through search and the experience we gain.

Of course, the relative backwardness which has arisen between positive economic and social developments and the provisions of the legislation—specifically the Constitution—give rise to difficulties and obstacles in the path of realizing the tasks set at our present stage and in the future.

One demand of the times is strengthening the development of the rule of law [shteti juridik], which means a state based on the law and which operates only on the basis of the law. In this connection, it becomes necessary for all activities of the state to be carried out on the basis of legal rights and norms. The activity of the state must be an exclusive monopoly of the state organs, according to their authorities under the Constitution and the laws which stem from it. The organs of the party and the mass organizations, whatever their relations with the state, cannot possess state competences or make decisions and carry out activities which belong to state organs, as not uncommonly happens in practice.

Strengthening the role of the state organs demands that state activities be clearly separated from those of the party and social organizations in general. The provisions of the Constitution that define the relations between the state and the party must also be considered in this context, not to allow any kind of formalism in the operation and work of state organs at any level. This is a major issue of principle which concerns the very nature of our state, a state created by the people for this people, who express their will through their representative bodies.

All the historic achievements of our people during half a century, the freedom they have won, the overcoming of centuries of backwardness, and the construction of socialism, are connected with the name of the Albanian Workers Party [AWP] and Enver Hoxha. The autonomous operation of the power of the people does not

exclude the role that the party has played and continues to play in our society. This role has not been achieved by laws and decrees and has no need to be sanctioned by constitutional provisions; however, it has been ensured by the party's line, which has always expressed and defended the lofty interests of the people and the homeland. In affirming the full sovereignty of the state, therefore, the Constitution must also find the necessary expression for this important historical characteristic of our country: the fact that the AWP—both in the struggle for liberation and in the construction of a new life—has been and always remains at the head of the people as a faithful representative of national interests and a bearer of social progress.

Furthermore, the constitutional norms involving the relations of the state with social organizations and associations and various groupings of citizens also require adjustment. Although the need to increase the role of representative bodies and ensuring their effective superiority to executive bodies has been posed several times, it cannot be said that this aim has been achieved. From this point of view, it is necessary to better define the place and role of the People's Assembly and its Presidium and the relations between them and the Council of Ministers. The People's Assembly is not in permanent session. It may remain this way in the future, but its sessions must become more frequent, because limiting them has stifled the role and initiative of the Assembly and its law-making activities to an extent. It is, therefore, necessary to extend the activity of the People's Assembly, both by increasing the number of sessions and by making its commissions increasingly active.

Strengthening the role of the Assembly does not imply a weakening of the role of its Presidium. On the contrary, it must play a greater role than it has until now. When the Constitution is changed and added to, the problem of the Presidium's character, composition, and authorities must also be solved. The correct balance struck between representative bodies and central executive bodies will be reflected in the Constitution and must also be reflected at the district level, thus strengthening the autonomous operation of the local state bodies and the administration alongside those of the center.

The changes inaugurated by the new economic mechanism should also be expressed in the Constitution, by reviewing the competences of executive bodies in the field of the economy—especially at the base—to effectively ensure the independence of state economic enterprises and particularly agricultural enterprises.

Certain other constitutional provisions also call for adjustment, such as those involving the forms of state property, those of groups and citizens themselves, private initiatives in the economy, and the role of the market, fiscal policy, etc.

I particularly stress that it is necessary to change the article in the Constitution that concerns the ban on creating firms and other economic institutions with foreign or joint financing and the receipt of credits from other countries. Reflecting the reality of our country today and the expansion of its international economic ties, the reformulation of this article will permit cooperation with foreign partners and the receipt of credits from abroad, but always and only if they are not accompanied by political conditions and do not violate the sovereignty of the Albanian people and state.

The strengthening and development of the rule of law makes necessary a review of the constitutional provisions which concern the field of justice, both as regards the composition [word indistinct] and independence of its organs, and the better definition of their competences, and in the presentation on a wider scale of certain democratic achievements in this field. In this connection, there is a demand for a more just regulation of (?the control), the constitutionality of legal acts and by-laws, and the solution of so-called administrative conflicts.

The Constitution and our laws reflect the justice and the deeply democratic and humanitarian character of our socialist social order. They express the general interests of the people, and serve the defense of the country's national freedom and independence. At the same time, their aim is to increasingly guarantee the surety of the rights of the individual, and to ensure legal basis for the comprehensive development of the human personality. This is a necessary demand for every truly democratic society. In the years of the people's power, radical transformations have taken place in our country in the field of human rights, too. The exploitation of man by man has been abolished, and major social inequalities and contrasts have been eliminated. Equality between men and women has been introduced, as well as the equality of all citizens before the law. Social rights, such as the right to free education, medical treatment, and social security, under the circumstances of a country which inherited deep poverty and backwardness, are a tangible reality for the broad masses of the people. Nevertheless, the range of the measures which have been taken and are continually being taken in connection with the democratization of the whole of the country's political, economic, and social life, make necessary a review of the (?of the provisions connected) with the rights and freedoms of citizens, with the aim of supplementing, deepening, and extending the content of these provisions. In this context, among other things, there is room to include the problem of the freedom of citizens to travel within the state and abroad, of course, according to the established legal norms. The right of citizens to take part in social organizations and associations recognized by law [words indistinct].

The democratic developments and transformations which have recently taken place in our legislation also necessitate a review of the constitutional provision that concerns our standpoint on religion and religious institutions. While holding fast to the principle that our state has a secular character, in which the church is divided from the state, the issue of the existence or nonexistence of religious institutions is up to the people themselves to

decide. Historically, our people, in their struggle for freedom, independence and social emancipation, have always placed our national ideal in the foreground. They have stood up against all kinds of behavior which harm the homeland's interests, cause division, and hinder their unity, including religious communities. The great principle which has guided them is that the faith of an Albanian is Albania.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Albanian people have always been led by the principle of the total equality of citizens, regardless of nationality and origin. The members of the ethnic minorities who live in Albania have enjoyed and will always enjoy exactly the same rights enjoyed by every Albanian. Motivated by care for them, to further deepen [words indistinct] the rights of the national minorities, and regardless of their characteristics, there is scope for some adjustments, especially regarding these citizens' communication with the nation to which they belong.

With the changes and additions to the Constitution, some other changes of lesser importance can be made in accordance with current conditions and the demand for the further development of our society.

In conclusion, it must be stressed that the changes proposed in the Constitution will also aim at making this basic act of our state correspond as well and as fully as possible to the demands of the international principles, known to the world, of course, always bearing in mind the traditions and conditions of the development of our country.

I wish to express the belief that these changes, which will come into effect with the approval of the new constitution, will give further impetus to the progressive processes taking place in our country. They will be a sound basis for other legislative changes. The aim of the road we have taken for the further democratization and modernization of our entire society is to secure our country's continual and comprehensive progress. In this process, life itself will lead us to find the most appropriate solutions to the problems set before us by the dialectic development of society.

Comrade deputies, to examine and decide on the proposals for changes and additions to the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which must be presented to the (?next) session of the People's Assembly, it is necessary to form a special commission. The Presidium of the People's Assembly has submitted a draft decree on the composition of this commission, which includes, in addition to deputies, other representatives of public opinion and different strata of society.

I invite you, comrade deputies, to approve this proposal on the need to change the Constitution and the composition of this commission for this purpose. [applause]

Electoral Law Approved 13 Nov

AU1311152390 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1430 GMT on 13 November devotes 15 minutes of its regular 30-minute newscast to a report on the second part of the session of the People's Assembly.

The report states that the People's Assembly resumed its proceedings at 0900, and was attended by Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The report states that deputies continued their discussion of the draft electoral law. Tirana Deputy Llambi Gegprifti states, "The draft electoral law submitted here for discussion and approval is an important achievement of our democracy, and embodies the most advanced thinking and innovations of our society," and especially praises "the increased role of the mass organizations." Korce Deputy Dritero Agolli says, "We are carrying out the process of the country's democratization with moderation, thinking deeply, and calculating exactly the difficulties on this road.... In this process, we are not conducting experiments, because experiments in society are dangerous." Deputies Vase Savoja, Lumturi Rexha, Pilo Peristeri, Alie Kalaja, and Skender Gjinushi also speak on the positive qualities of the draft electoral law. The draft electoral law is reported to have been read and approved clause by clause by the People's Assembly.

The report states that the People's Assembly will resume its session at 1700.

'Democratic Ideal' of European Integration

AU1311092490 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 4 Nov 90 p 4

[Shaban Murati article: "Today's Europe: Symptoms and Movements"]

[Text] The principal processes currently under way in Europe continue to provide the main tone to the continent's great movement toward a more equal, more democratic, and more interdependent structure of relations among peoples and states. This is the first direction of the movement of the machine called Europe, which has as its focal point a democratic ideal of creating a democratic, progressive, and stable community of European peoples. This is now not only admitted, but asserted by everyone. It is also a reality of post-cold war Europe, a Europe which profited nothing from the mentalities and practices of blocs and separate alliances. The planned disintegration or reduction of the gravitational weight of one alliance or another is, therefore, welcomed as a fact assisting Europe's movement in this first direction. A meeting of the foreign ministers of Warsaw Pact member states was held in Budapest last Saturday [3 November] to sign an agreement on reducing conventional weapons, to which the agreement to be reached at the CSCE summit in Paris will be added. This

is a special fact, whose symbolism illustrates not only interdependency but the subjection of group interests to more general pan-European interests.

In the spectrum of these pan-European interests, it is not easy to abandon the concepts and mentalities of the group or bloc. This has found expression in internal or external efforts to gain the greatest weight or influence in a future European structure, something that points to the second direction of the movement under way in Europe, which has two symptoms. The first of these is an aim to conserve the bloc scheme in a new form, and the second is a dissolution of national identities in highly abstract schemes on a continental scale. Despite the favorable climate in which all the interests of the peoples of the continent are said to be taken into consideration, the most varied problems are emerging and taking root in today's Europe. These involve the difficulties of abandoning the old concepts of direction by a concert of two, three, or 23. The second direction of movement becomes a hindrance to the first. Under such circumstances, peoples and countries which, in one way or another, have been officially outside political and military groups are demanding that their voices and those of all the peoples of the continent should be heard more in planning the future of Europe.

The demand grows stronger and sounds natural on the threshold of the summit of the countries taking part in the CSCE. At a meeting held in Helsinki on Friday [2 November], a group of European countries, which are not members of either bloc, formulated the demand that everyone should be included in talks about the military security of post-cold war Europe. They voiced the demand for a single forum for all discussion involving Europe's military security.

The fact that our continent is experiencing an acceleration of the processes of integration is a truth illustrated clearly by the events of recent months. Of course, advance is a complicated process involving many domestic and foreign factors, vestiges of old schemes and drafts of new ones, and bilateral and multilateral relations. Advance is not easy, as is evident if we look at the experience of what has so far been the most significant European structure in the field of integration, the European Common Market. The EEC took a major step forward toward monetary union at the end of last week with its summit meeting in Rome. Great Britain, however, voluntarily stood aside from this agreement, also expressing doubts about European integration. This will undoubtedly lead to consequences at a Community level. There were also domestic consequences, however, because Deputy Prime Minister Geoffrey Howe tendered his resignation on 1 November "because of Europe," as a British government spokesman stated. Nevertheless, as Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis wrote in an article published in AVANTI on 30 October, the EEC summit in Rome furthered the process of the Community's integration, in accordance with current demands.

Europe in 1990 is not what it was in 1960; it now has a clearer vision of where it wishes to go and by what road. Interdependency and integration are, of course more widely recognized, but distances remain in drafting and applying specific models and means. This was evident in Soviet President Gorbachev's visit to France this week; the Soviet Union insisted on its familiar plan of "a common European home," while France insisted on the project of a European confederation. Other European states have other formulas.

An important element which events in Europe highlight more clearly every day is that norms of behavior and models and objectives in the construction of the continent's future must be the products of the thought, experience, contributions, and interests of all the European peoples without exception. As Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed in his speech at the United Nations, "Life has shown that no true security and no democratic, progressive, and stable community of European peoples can be achieved without the development of everybody from the economic point of view, without fruitful cooperation which also gives others opportunities for progress, and without the establishment of sincere and equal relations among states which will exclude prejudices and interventions in internal affairs in whatever form."

The ideal of such a community must inspire the direction of movement of the machine called Europe, which involves the desires and hopes of every European.

Role of Small Countries in 'New Europe' Viewed

AU1211141890 Tirana ATA in English 0953 GMT 12 Nov 90

["New Europe and the Small Countries: The Newspaper 'ZERI I POPULLIT' Writes"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, November 12 (ATA)—In an article concerning the major transformations that have occurred and are occurring in Europe, the commentator of the newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT" Shaban Murati writes among others that recently, Austria, as the chancellor Franz Vranitzky reported, decided to lift the provisions of the treaty of independence of the year 1955, which have limited its sovereignty after the World War Two.

At present we are eyewitnesses of the endeavours made to newly adjust the European problems, equilibriums or structures, "ZERI I POPULLIT" points out. Efforts are being made to go towards a new Europe, which will leave behind the epoch of cold war and policy of blocs. Every European country seeks to affirm fully its sovereignty and in this context Austria's decision to lift those provisions confining its soverignty, is quite comprehensible and correct. Likewise, it is understandable that every European country aims at joining and participating with equal rights in a new Europe.

A new Europe can be real and efficient if it is based on the equality of rights of the member states, and takes into

consideration the voice of all. The medium and small countries, which have suffered a great deal as a result of the confrontation between the blocs, have even more the right to demand such a thing. The Albanian state has experienced such a thing and as Comrade Ramiz Alia put it at the 12th plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the PLA [Albanian Workers Party—AWP], "It has uninterruptedly been the target of the cold war."

The small countries, "ZERI I POPULLIT" writes in conclusion, are more interested than the others in the democratic processes in the Europe and the world, in the democratisation of the international relations, in the defence of human rights and national and democratic freedoms. A new Europe cannot be thought of without mutual equality and respect, because it cannot be otherwise but democratic.

Malile, Shevardnadze Exchange Greetings

AU1111143690 Tirana ATA in English 0910 GMT 11 Nov 90

[Text] Tirana, November 10 (ATA)—On occasion of the 45th anniversary of the establishment of the diplomatic relations between the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and the USSR, the foreign ministers of the two countries exchanged messages of greetings.

After wishing progress and prosperity to the Soviet peoples, the message of the minister for foreign affairs of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile, underscores that the normalisation of the relations between our two countries is an important event opening up the way to the promotion of bilateral cooperation in mutually beneficial domains, as well as to that one in the framework of the positive processes of security and cooperation in our continent. He aired his confidence that the friendly relations between Albania and the Soviet Union will develop non-stop to the benefit of our two peoples, peace and cooperation in Europe.

On his part, the minister of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union Eduard Shevardnadze hails the normalisation of the Soviet-Albanian relations and voices the conviction that a new qualitative stage of mutual cooperation has begun between the two countries. We are confident, the message says, that the Soviet-Albanian relations will witness a fruitful mutual development in the spirit of the new political thinking to the interest of the consolidation of the climate of confidence and cooperation in the changing Europe and to the interest of reaching a sound international situation in general.

Zhivkov Calls Trial 'Outrage'; Denies Guilt

AU0911200690 Sofia BTA in English 1722 GMT 9 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 9 Nov (BTA)—Bulgaria's former dictator says that the trial against him is "sordid and framed up". In his first interview since November 10, 1989, which appeared today in "TRUD's" new weekly edition, Mr. Zhivkov claims that the investigators assigned to his case "are resigning one after the other" and describes the court trial in preparation as "an outrage against his person and against his family". He is categorical that "there is no law" under which he can be convicted.

"While Zhivkov was running this state, were the shops full, did people have jobs and security? Were so many crimes committed? Were there so many riots?" Mr. Zhivkov asks rhetorically and claims that power in Bulgaria was under his control until 1984 and that by that time Bulgaria had a 500 million dollar surplus in its dealings with the outside world.

Still, he does not answer the question who ruled the country after 1984, saying that "it is not yet the right time for this question." Instead, Mr. Zhivkov blames General Kenan Evren for bringing about "a change in the conduct of Bulgarian Muslims" the appearance of "Turkish terrorist groups, appeals and demands for autonomy" after the military takeover in Turkey, and hence "a change in the Bulgarian Government's treatment of the Bulgarian citizens of Turkish origin". At the same time, Mr. Zhivkov claims he was against the renaming of the Bulgarian Muslims "but had to obey the collective decision." In conclusion, he predicts that "Bulgaria may experience the fate of Cyprus in ten or twenty years' time."

Todor Zhivkov says he knew nothing about Chernobyl, claiming that he was "one thousand meters above sea level in the mountains" a day after the reactor exploded. He indicates that there is reliable documentary evidence of everything he says in the interview and that this evidence "will be brought to light at the right moment".

Asked whether he had any feeling of guilt, Mr. Zhivkov replies: "I made two important mistakes in my life. One was that I didn't marry when I was alone and still could do it, now I would have had a helpmate in my old age. (Mr. Zhivkov's wife, Dr. Mara Maleeva-Zhivkova died in 1971-BTA note). My other mistake is that I didn't retire on pension ten years ago. That's all, I haven't made any other mistakes".

Objects to Publication of Interview

AU1111172190 Sofia BTA in English 1644 GMT 11 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 11 Nov (BTA)—Todor Zhivkov, the ex-number one, has sent a letter to the mass media in connection with his interview which appeared in the November 9 issue of "TRUD".

"Some of my thoughts are represented inaccurately and with sensationalism, my statement is not and was not intended as an interview," Mr. Zhivkov claims. He does not deny that a month ago he received the interviewer, Mr. Raycho Raykov, a TV journalist, but emphasizes that their conversation was off the record.

Todor Zhivkov does not specify which of his replies has been misrepresented.

Rebuffs Accusations in Letter to DUMA

AU1311142790 Sofia BTA in English 1251 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, November 13 (BTA)—"Panic-stricken, the leadership of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) took a line which will end by defeating the party. Now my successors are in the same situation I found myself to be in a year ago. The activity they are carrying out is a final attempt to draw a divide between 'the guilty' and 'the innocent'. We are witnessing a kind of Balkan political play-act—everybody wants to jump over the divide by all possible means. But I should remind to the present leadership of the BSP and the opposition that history has one weakness—it is repeated over and over again."

The above is an excerpt from the open letter of the former Bulgarian state leader, Todor Zhivkov (now under investigation), published by the DUMA paper. Mr. Zhivkov has broken the silence he is obliged to keep by the investigating authorities for the purpose of throwing light on some facts "which have been deliberately disclosed in the last year, while other facts are still passed over in silence", the author of the letter points out.

He has been prompted into writing the letter by certain disclosures about some members of the top-crust nomenclature of the time of Todor Zhivkov's regime who took unfair advantage of their privileges and bought for themselves hard currency and Western motor cars or received luxury apartments from the personal funds of the former state leader.

Mr. Zhivkov states that the list of the people who received apartments from his own funds is incomplete and that the names on it have been deliberately picked out: "There are names of people I neither know, nor do I remember to have issued orders for giving apartments to them". "On the other hand I do not see the names of a number of activists who are now teaching us lessons in democracy and are trying to pin responsibility on somebody else," he writes.

"Probably it is to certain people's interest to conceal the fact that 15 Western limousines, paintings, crystal sets, gold and silver objects and other works of art amounting to millions of dollars' worth which the former state leader received as presents were then taken an inventory of and handed over to the state," Mr. Zhivkov writes.

He answers some other charges made against his family and points out that now his family "is placed in a humiliating situation which makes it impossible for

them to defend thousands of people whose only 'privilege' was their selfless work". No matter what position a man had in the party or the state hierarchy, he could own only an apartment and a villa Mr. Zhivkov states.

"As far as responsibility is concerned, I would like to put some questions to many people, including people who are not members of the BSP, who are ready to overstep the bounds of morality beyond which there is nothing but political and personal degradation. But I am going to keep silent at the moment, because I still believe that human morality and political common sense will prevail," Todor Zhivkov writes in conclusion.

In a brief editorial commentary DUMA notes that Todor Zhivkov's remarks on the present problems of the BSP are "irrelevant".

Will Answer Questions if Trial Stops

AU1311121090 Paris AFP in English 1202 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, Nov 12 (AFP)—Todor Zhivkov, Bulgaria's former communist dictator now under house arrest at his granddaughter's home in the Sofia suburbs, says he never committed crimes against his people or "humanity".

"I am the East European leader who for the longest period applied the corrupt system adapted from the Soviet Union," he said of his 35-year iron hold over the country. "Naturally, I carry the political responsibility for all that happened but I did not commit crimes against the people or humanity," he told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESS in an interview.

The 79-year-old former leader, who was ousted November 10, 1989, in the wave of democratic change that swept eastern Europe last year, is accused of embezzlement, abuse of power and inciting national hatred for his policy of forcibly integrating Bulgaria's Muslim ethnic Turkish minority. The state prosecutor is to decide probably by the end of November if the case will actually be brought to court.

In the interim, the former leader is forbidden to leave the two-storey home of his granddaughter, 25-year-old Evgeniya Zhivkova, and a policeman from Bulgaria's special rapid intervention force and two civilian security officials stand guard outside. Having spent his life in state-owned residences allotted to members of the communist regime, he owns no property of his own.

The interview was conducted in the glow of candlelight. Evgeniya's home in the Boyana suburb, like everywhere in Bulgaria, has the electricity cut every two hours for a period of two hours.

He spoke tenderly of his family, his one-month old great-granddaughter, Lyudmila, his son Vladimir and daughter-in-law who live next door. But he denounced his pending court case and said he would answer questions about his regime only if it were dropped. He also critized the ruling Socialist Party, the reformed successor of the old Bulgarian Communist Party. He said its current power struggle had triggered "panic" with everyone trying to prove themselves innocent. He said the case against him, which was opened last January, was "imposed on the prosecutor by external political forces", though he did not explain. Mr. Zhivkov also said it would be "vandalism" to bring the case against him to court, and said he hope he would not be called to testify at any trial.

Despite his age and the charges weighing against him, Mr. Zhivkov appeared in good form, casually dressed in grey pants and a sweater and relaxing in his leather armchair.

"What exactly happened on November 10, 1989—did I resign or was I fired?", he said, repeating the much-asked question about the end of his regime. But he insisted he was ready to answer questions from both the press and the National Assembly on his 35-year rule only "if the prosecutor's office is allowed to drop the case".

He also handed over a letter he sent to the Socialist Party (BSP) newspaper in which he protested the recent findings of a special party committee investigating privileges of the former communist leaders. These included the purchase of foreign currency, housing facilities and opportunities to buy fancy cars. He said the BSP leaders were now "stricken with panic" and had adopted "a line that can only lead to the final defeat of the party", which is currently trying to counter a bid for power by the opposition.

"We are witnessing a Balkan political theater where everyone is trying to cross the line between 'the guilty' and 'the innocent', without choosing the way to do it," he said.

Mr. Zhivkov said he meets often with the lawyers preparing his defense, otherwise he spends his days reading, listening to the radio, watching television and gardening.

Iran To Supply 1 Million Tonnes of Petroleum

AU1211202990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 9 Nov 90 p 2

[Vladimir Prodanov report]

[Text] Next year Iran will supply to Bulgaria 1 million tonnes of petroleum, 1 billion cubic meters of gas, and credits of $100 million. The total goods exchanged in 1991 will be $500 million, and will expand dynamically during this and the following periods. The Ruse shipyard will build two river vessels for Iran, and our specialists will construct dams, a meat combine, and irrigation systems in the Islamic Republic.

During difficult times for Bulgaria and Iran, our countries have always helped each other, stated Seyyed Homayun Amir-Khalili, the Iranian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria, at a news conference held on 8 November. He analyzed the results of the recently concluded seventh session of the Mixed Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation Between Bulgaria and Iran.

The Iranian Government is following the democratization of Bulgaria with great interest, the ambassador said, and it considers that Bulgaria's transition from a centralized to a market economy will open up wide prospects for bilateral cooperation. The crisis in the Persian Gulf caused serious losses to the Bulgarian economy, and this aroused feelings of sympathy among the Iranian people. It has been agreed that SOMAT [International Road Transport Economic Trust], one of the largest shipping companies in Europe, will carry out the shipment of transit goods freight from Western Europe for Iran through Bulgarian and Iranian territory.

Six Bulgarian Specialists Arrive From Kuwait

AU1211194090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Today six of our compatriots arrived at Sofia airport on a Balkan Air plane from Moscow. They are the last group of Bulgarian specialists who were working in Kuwait. At Sofia airport, our reporter Rumyana Sotirova sought them out, and Angel Popov made the following statement to her:

[Begin Popov recording] At the customs inspection office when we left, they confiscated all of our attractive looking items—I do not mean only valuables. For example, they took women's makeup. As for any gold or foreign currency, they seized it at once. They seized items which we had saved for three or four months to buy. It is not that things are so bad there. They have everything they need. [passage indistinct] [end recording].

Greek Foreign Minister Samaras Arrives 12 Nov

AU1211114290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] On 12 November Andonios Samaras, Greek Minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Bulgaria on a friendly and working visit. The visit is taking place at the invitation of Lyuben Gotsev, Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs.

In brief statement for the Bulgarian Radio KHORIZONT Program, the two foreign ministers confirmed the ascending development of bilateral relations and their role as a stabilizing factor in the Balkans.

Details about the forthcoming visit to Sofia of Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis were reported.

Prime Minister To Visit in 1990

AU0911090290 Sofia BTA in English 0825 GMT 9 Nov 90

[Text] Athens, 9 Nov (BTA)—Mr. Konstandinos Mitsotakis, prime minister of Greece, will visit Bulgaria before the end of this year. Mr. Mitsotakis announced his intention at a session of his cabinet.

Mr. Andonios Samaras, minister of foreign affairs of Greece, will arrive in Sofia on November 12. His visit was planned for November 28, but the Greek Radio did not mention the causes for the change of the date. Greek Minister of Defence Ioannis Varvitsiotis will also pay a visit to Sofia.

Last night it was announced that Bulgaria would receive further aid from Greece which would include 200 thousand cans of children's food.

Samaras To Meet Semerdzhiev, Beron

AU1211140290 Sofia BTA in English 1255 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Nov (BTA)—"The principal idea of my visit is to consolidate Bulgaro-Greek relations," said Mr. Andonios Samaras, minister of foreign affairs of Greece, who arrived on a two-day working visit here today. Mr. Samaras emphasized that Greece views its relations with Bulgaria as an axis of friendship and cooperation in the Balkans. He and his Bulgarian counterpart Mr. Lyuben Gotsev pointed out that they will make arrangements for a forthcoming visit to Bulgaria by the Greek prime minister, Mr. Konstandinos Mitsotakis, due to take place in December. Mr. Lyuben Gotsev also expressed satisfaction with the active promotion of Bulgaro-Greek relations, stressing Bulgaria's desire for their further expansion.

Immediately after the welcoming ceremony, the two chief diplomats started talks. Mr. Andonios Samaras's schedule contains meetings with General Atanas Semerdzhiev, vice president of the Republic, with Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov and with Mr. Petur Beron, leader of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS).

Talks With Gotsev Reported

AU1211154490 Sofia BTA in English 1429 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, November 12 (BTA)—The Bulgarian foreign minister, Mr. Lyuben Gotsev, and Mr. Andonios Samaras, his Greek counterpart, today discussed two groups of problems related to the two countries' interaction in the international arena and to their bilateral relations. Special attention was paid to the forthcoming summit in Paris. In view of the changes in Europe and the Balkans, Bulgaria seeks new guarantees for her security within the framework of the all-European process. Bulgaria considers there are possibilities for interaction with Greece in strengthening confidence, including confidence in the military sphere, the head of the Balkan Countries Department with the Bulgarian Ministry stated after the meeting.

The two ministers exchanged views on Bulgaria's relations with the European Communities a field in which Greece already has considerable experience. The Greek side offered its aid both on bilateral and multilateral level. Mr. Andonios Samaras gave some concrete pieces of advice.

When discussing bilateral relations, the two sides emphasized the two countries' economic ties. They share

the same views as to their practical advancement. If a final agreement is reached on a level of experts, agreements on the avoidance of double taxation and investment protection could be signed during the forthcoming visit of the Greek prime minister to Bulgaria.

The two sides discussed the forthcoming visits of Prime Minister Mitsotakis and the Greek defense minister to Bulgaria and the visit the head of staff of the Bulgarian People's Army is to pay to Greece.

One million drachmae (about 65 thousand dollars) were remitted through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in favor of the Bulgarian children of the Society of Friends of the Museum of Macedonian Struggles (a private museum in Thessaloniki).

Bilateral Relations, EC Discussed

AU1211202590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Excerpts] Today Andonios Samaras, minister of foreign affairs of Greece, began a working visit to Bulgaria. This visit is of great importance for Bulgaria's foreign policy priorities.

Bulgarian Foreign Minister Lyuben Gotsev noted that the visit will mark a new page in bilateral relations. The specific results of the visit will help the two friendly countries to synchronize their watches before the forthcoming CSCE summit in Paris.

Mr. Samaras' visit also furthers the preparations for the forthcoming visit by Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis to Bulgaria at the beginning of next month.

The leader of Greek diplomacy made a statement on the results of his visit to Bulgaria. He described Bulgarian-Greek relations as a model of friendship and cooperation in the Balkans.

During their talks, the two ministers exchanged a wide range of ideas and proposals which may be nominally grouped under two headings. The first is the cooperation between the two countries in the international arena under the changed conditions in the Balkans and in Europe. The great benefit was noted of the cooperation and mutual aid between Bulgaria and Greece concerning confidence-building measures, also in the military field.

In connection with Bulgaria's participation in building the common European home and in cooperation with the EC, the Greek foreign minister promised aid on a bilateral and multilateral basis.

The second group of proposals and ideas includes bilateral relations, especially in the economic field. [passage omitted]

Mr. Samaras was also received by Atanas Semerdzhiev, vice president of the Republic.

Received by Semerdzhiev

AU1211205190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Today Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev received Greek Foreign Minster Andonios Samaras, who is on a visit to Bulgaria. The conversation between Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev and the Greek foreign minister took place in an atmosphere of mutual trust and mutual desire to expand and deepen our cooperation, which is traditional for Bulgarian-Greek relations.

Atanas Semerdzhiev noted with satisfaction that Greece, as a member of the European Community and a participant in the Common Market, is doing everything possible to assist Bulgaria in becoming an associate member of these European structures.

Both sides expressed the conviction that they must work to deepen the common Balkan process and to build up a system of cooperation between all the Balkan countries, which will guarantee the interests of each country and turn our region into a zone of stability, peace, and cooperation.

The guest was briefed on the deep changes under way in Bulgaria.

The Greek foreign minister visited the offices of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and held talks with Petur Beron, chairman of the SDS Coordinating Council. The guest said that this was a very important moment in his visit.

Later, Foreign Minister Lyuben Gotsev gave a dinner in honor of Andonios Samaras.

'No Differences' on CFE Arms Ceilings

AU1211220290 Sofia BTA in English 2126 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, November 12 (BTA)—Bulgaria and Greece are convinced that they should work for deepening the all-Balkan process and for building up a system of cooperation among the Balkan countries which would guarantee the interests of each one of them and would turn the region into a zone of lasting peace and cooperation, it was confirmed at the meeting Mr. Andonios Samaras, minister of foreign affairs of Greece, had today with Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev.

Discussing some problems related to the Vienna negotiations, the two sides pointed out there are no differences in the two countries' positions as to the ceiling of the categories of armament which are subject to reduction, the main principles laid down in the conventional arms treaty and the measures to be taken for strengthening confidence and security. This fact makes it possible for the delegations of the two countries to become more active in Vienna and it does not harm the interests of any other country, the Balkan countries included.

Satisfaction was expressed with the development of the relations between the two countries along with a desire to

expand their cooperation. The Greek side expressed its readiness to render assistance for Bulgaria's soonest possible integration in the European structures.

Vice President Semerdzhiev familiarized the guest with the sweeping changes in Bulgaria—the replacement of one system with a new type of social relations. According to him the democratic process has reached the point when the old structures and their mechanisms are no longer operative, but the new ones have not been created yet, which fills in the vacuum with typical social and political tensions.

The Greek foreign minister had talks with the leader of the Union of Democratic Forces, Dr. Petur Beron, who emphasized the close Bulgaro-Greek relations and spoke in favour of their being further extended. Dr. Beron said that the two countries' cooperation is yet to be expanded.

The leader of the opposition expressed his gratitude for the assistance the Greek side rendered at the time of the parliamentary elections.

Received by Todorov, Lukanov

AU1311103690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] On 13 November Andonios Samaras, Greek foreign minister, was received by Nikolay Todorov, Grand National Assembly chairman, and Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers. Issues related to the two countries' mutual interests were discussed, among them, developing cooperation in the economic, political, and cultural spheres, and issues related to the forthcoming visit to Bulgaria by Greek Prime Minister Mr. Mitsotakis.

The working visit of the Greek foreign ministers will end later today, after which the Greek guest will return to his motherland.

Friendly Relations Stressed

AU1311194490 Sofia BTA in English 1734 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, November 13 (BTA)—Bulgaria is Greece's number one friend, the Greek foreign minister, Mr. Andonios Samaras stressed today at his meeting with the Bulgarian prime minister, Mr. Andrey Lukanov, and received reciprocal assurances.

The sides considered matters concerning bilateral relations and multilateral Balkan cooperation, proceeding from the current world situation in which, with the abandonment of bloc attitudes, national interests become central to the countries' home and foreign policies.

Briefing his guest on the situation in Bulgaria, Mr. Andrey Lukanov pointed out that the grave crisis besetting this country should not affect Bulgaro-Greek relations, especially at this stage. The sides acknowledged the importance of bilateral contacts in all fields, national security included.

Multilateral Balkan cooperation was assessed in positive terms, along with the prospects for its furtherance and specifically for its integration into the economic and political aspect of the European process.

In connection with the forthcoming visit to Bulgaria in early December by the Greek prime minister, Mr. Konstandinos Mitsotakis, it was pointed out that preparations are under way for the signing of several economic accords. It has yet to be decided whether there will be a new political declaration or whether the two countries will reaffirm their stands expressed in the document signed by Mr. Todor Zhivkov and Mr. Andreas Papandreou.

At a meeting today between the Greek foreign minister and academician Nikolay Todorov, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, it was confirmed that during his visit the Greek head of government will address Bulgaria's parliament.

Mr. Andonios Samaras observed that in order to maintain the pace of progress in bilateral relations, some bilateral problems have to be settled. Most of them are sheer technicalities, such as the ones concerning the River Mesta. In his view, all political forces in Bulgaria should seek to maintain a positive attitude towards Greece.

Position on Warsaw Pact Agreement Cited

AU0811203590 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 8 Nov (BTA)—A spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has explained to the BTA Bulgaria's position on the agreement reached on November 3, 1990 in Budapest at the meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, the USSR, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

As it is known, at the meeting the heads of the General Staffs of the allied countries signed a protocol memorandum to the agreement on the distribution of the maximal national levels of the categories of armament and equipment which are subject to reduction according to the Vienna Accords on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe.

The protocol memorandum specifies the number of tanks, armored weaponry and over 100 mm. artillery systems which the USSR is ready to take in storage out of the total number of such equipment the Warsaw Treaty Organization member-nations should keep in store.

Before the memorandum was signed in Budapest, the Bulgarian side had stated that Bulgaria was a flank country and that according to the Vienna Accords she had not the right and she did not intend to keep in store these categories of armament and equipment.

Governments Complete Draft Amendments on Power

Calfa on Sphere of Competence

AU1211134590 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 7 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with CSFR Premier Marian Calfa by Jaroslav Veis; in Hrzansky Palace on 5 November: "On the Division of the Spheres of Competence"—first paragraph is LIDOVE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] Shortly after Monday's [5 November] meeting of three premiers about the problems connected with the division of the spheres of competence had ended in Hrzansky Palace, we asked Premier Marian Calfa for a short interview.

[Veis] What spheres of competence will the federation keep?

[Calfa] Those spheres of competence that are a prerequisite for a federation to exist. Economic strategy, principal questions related to the tax system, the Army, foreign policy, questions connected with the state administration on the federal level, some matters connected with the regulation of the economy, the basic concept of the power-generating industry, and the raw material industry belong to the federal level. Everything that is connected with local economic life has been passed on to the republics. The republics will have a lot of problems to solve and I hope that they will be successful in solving all of them.

[Veis] All three of you have declared that you have reason to be satisfied. What is your reason?

[Calfa] One reason may be that I am able to imagine how the system, at which we have arrived, will work. We have problems with deadlines, however, we do not know whether, from the organizational, financial, personal, and technical points of view, we will be able to cope with everything before 1 January 1991—all this takes time. This is why I tried to stress at the end of our meeting that there is no victory unless no one notices that the spheres of competence have been transferred to the republics—that is, unless everything goes smoothly. This is one reason. The other is that I would like better if we made this transfer while liquidating a number of administrative positions in the state. Along with the classical state administration we are also transferring those elements of management which should gradually disappear. However, if we establish an institution on a republican level and if we employ people there, then we will have to count with the fact that these people will show a tendency to keep their positions there for some time.... The republican premiers will probably have a lot of work to prevent this psychological effect from becoming a curbing mechanism....

[Veis] In other words, are you afraid of Parkinson's law?

[Calfa] I did not want to put it this way.... I want to add that during our meeting the ideas which we had at the beginning did gradually change. The I-will-do-it-myself attitude does not prevail any more. Under the crushing weight of specific problems that must be solved every day, the need for a bird's-eye view—that would hold the scale of given questions in the framework of one philosophy and policy—becomes apparent.

[Veis] What were the most controversial points in your debate?

[Calfa] We have discussed the problem of communications media a lot, particularly radio frequencies. The republics are of the opinion that they should be allowed to have more say on the matter. So far, the frequencies are allocated to the federation on some kind of market principle.

Of course, the radio frequencies have also to comply with international agreements. Republics are of the opinion that the federation should have dealings on the international level and then it should pass the problem on to republics. We were of the opinion, however, that we must bear all responsibility, including the allocation of frequencies to individual radio stations. We have postponed this problem for a later date and, in the meantime, the status quo is in force, that is, the federation still decides about this problem. Another disputed question, particularly on the Slovak Republic's side, was the parity in the representation. The generally recognized principle that if the minister is a Czech then the first deputy must be a Slovak, and vice versa, is not valid any more. They wanted to compensate for this principle by implementing a proposal according to which the function of state secretaries, who would also be members of government, would be established. In other words, the minister and the state secretary would be of different nationalities, which would make it possible to retain the parity principle. We objected that it would mean that the number of the members of government would double. This would be politically insupportable and, in addition, it would also increase costs. It would also have its disadvantages—what if the state secretary who was unable to make his way in the ministry were to vote against his minister in the government? Also the establishment of the position of some kind of vice-minister was considered. But they would have to be a sort of deputy minister anyway, so we finally concluded that this was a political and not a constitutional problem.

[Veis] Did you see that the consequences of the governmental crisis in Slovakia was reflected somehow in the debate?

[Calfa] Not at all. At the outset of the debate I only asked Meciar what the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] had in mind when demanding the right of self-determination, including secession from the federation, what the separate tax system was, and what was the separate [monetary] emission. He said that it was the KDH's decision and that it was necessary to face it—the

KDH is our coalition partner. In any case, we will demand an explanation from the KDH what their decision is supposed to mean.

Meciar Discusses Top Issues

LD1111233390 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 10 Nov 90

[Report on interview with Slovak Government Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko by Bohus Gecy in Modra-Harmonia on 10 Nov—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Our journalistic activity was successful today, because our colleague Bohus Gecy has not returned empty-handed from Modra-Harmonia, from the meeting of the representatives of the Public Against Violence [VPN] and Civic Forum [OF], parliaments and government. He has found out that in Modra, talks will continue about the coming elections, and that the talks on the issues of jurisdiction will also continue next Tuesday.

On this important issue, he interviewed Premier Vladimir Meciar and Slovak Parliament Chairman Frantisek Miklosko:

[Gecy] Mr. Premier, what are the key issues to be discussed on Tuesday, and what is your view on whether the most important and still controversial issues will be solved there?

[Meciar] On Monday, when all three premiers held talks, our plan was to agree on the mandate on behalf of the governments, then acquaint the governments with it and let it be approved. The governments of the Czech and the Slovak Republics gave such a mandate to the premiers and confirmed our conclusions. The Federal Government behaved differently. It adopted a draft of measures, of which it is said that they are partial. I would like to rectify this. There are four partial measures, six basic ones which will change the overall conception of the federation; if we adopted some of them, we would get into the state prior to 1968, and there are seven which could be discussed as a supplement. In order not to part today in anger and to avoid having the Federal Assembly obtain two different bills, we agreed that we shall try to go on negotiating.

The negotiation of our government is quite limited, as we have already given the material to the Slovak National Council and it is no longer at our disposal. We could only factually analyze relations which we had already considered concluded. As this problem has arisen as a political one, a political consensus must be sought. We have agreed on six cases where it could be expected that an agreement will be concluded, but there is no agreement between us about the joint proceeding in the cases where no agreement will be reached. Should the view expressed by some representatives of federal bodies, in particular Mr. Minister Klaus, hold true, then the old Constitution would actually hold and this would destroy the entire deliberations, it will return to the situation of 1970 (?in which we were also searching for a better constitution), and our work will become quite unnecessary.

Partial solutions have no value for us. The entire issue must be dealt with as a system and a sufficient agreement reached; otherwise, it will just not work. I want to say that the government of the Slovak republic has taken many steps toward an agreement. For example, we have withdrawn the proposal for state secretaries of the ministry. We have agreed with the unified way of carrying out customs service. We have given in on many other things to get as near as possible to the borderline of a possible agreement. If its borderline is shifted further, we shall negotiate, but we have reserved the right of disagreeing with things which do not suit us.

[Miklosko] I would like to add in this context that all those in the parliament, government, and the politicians who represent our political parties agree that Slovakia is at a crossroads which cannot be avoided. If we avoid it, we would feel that we are failing to cope with the task we face. At present it is not possible to back off, not to move forward to make Slovakia a country with self-administration.

[Meciar] For instance, during talks of coalition parties or during talks with the premier, the question of state of emergency, the subordinate of police to the federal bodies, declaration of the state of emergency on the territory of the republic or the entire federation were not raised. Now they put this problem on the table in front of us to let us voice our views on it without knowing the legal background for it, and it is unclearly formulated. This is not acceptable.

It is also a question of redistributing money—we put in the riginal (?draft) that money must not be redistributed, and if an exception is to be done, it would require approval by all three parties involved—i.e., by the federation and the republics. Now it is said that money can be redistributed and the only requirement is that it is in the interest of the federation, without our approval or taking into account our stance. This means that the redistribution system against which we fought as against a legal deformation will be preserved.

There are three subjects of state ownership, and so far the concept was that what is in the state ownership is in the federal ownership. Therefore we defined precisely what is to be owned by the state and what by the federation. This is extraordinarily significant because in the process of dividing the federation's assets, respectively state's assets, to be exact, we have to say what will be given to each one of these three subjects: What will be Slovak-owned, Czech-owned, and federation-owned. And there is a need to say now what the two republican governments can transfer to the ownership of communities. The communities are going to be born in a month's time, and there is the question of assets. To leave it not covered by the Constitution presents a problem.

There is a fundamental conflict in the sphere of foreign trade, where a new understanding of relations in the sphere of foreign trade is in its substance a preservation of the previous system. Then what will the voices calling for the change have achieved, if this is suffocating us? Therefore we do not want to accept this, we can hardly accept this.

An agreement is possible in the sphere of other foreign relations which are linked to international cooperation.

There are still several points where conflicts persist. There are changes which are of a so-called medium difficulty and which can be discussed and on which we can compromise. Then there are such points—there are four of them—which can be solved on the basis of a formulation in 15 minutes.

[Gecy] I would like to ask a slightly hypothetical question. I do not want to dramatize things but what will happen if you do not come to an agreement on Tuesday?

[Miklosko] I shall speak for myself and you [Meciar] for yourself. The session of the committees is already in progress and it means that in the Slovak National Council the bill put forward by both governments will be discussed. This means this is a way we shall follow and these are the proposals which we shall be approving.

[Meciar] Several variants are possible. It is difficult to say today which of them will work out and which will not. The first variant is that the Federal Government will withdraw the proposals which are not approved by the republics and will wait for them, as we do, until the constitutions are ready. Then they could be put forward again, but will become a topic of factual discussion a little later when they mature sufficiently. The second variant is that the Slovak National Council adopts a different bill which it would put forward to the federal assembly and which would be acceptable to the Federal Government. In this case we have to envisage a political division in which probably no bill would be passed and we would be exactly where we were prior to 1969, entirely within the old system. The third variant would be a division of standpoints, and there would be three bills, each body putting forward its own bill to the Federal Assembly. However, I think that this problem will not arise between the Czech and Slovak Councils.

Naturally, we do not exclude the possibility that deputies in the Federal Assembly could put forward an amendment of laws which could transfer [words indistinct]. It is very difficult to talk about the mechanism of reaching the agreements which are to be attained on Tuesday because the government does not have its own bill. It passed it on, and it has no reason to take it away from the Slovak National Council just because its chairman demanded the resolution of the government. Even its chairman cannot do whatever he likes. In that case this would have to be dealt with by discussions by political parties among themselves. Some deputies would have to be entrusted with putting forward the proposal on amendment in agreement with the talks to be held on Tuesday. Many problems suddenly occurred which we thought had been settled, superfluously in my view, because the idea of federation as it has been described in the documents at the meeting of three premiers is functional and viable, and would satisfy the interests of national republics and the federation and their citizens, indeed everyone who lives on the territory of this republic.

[Gecy] I am sorry, but I am going to ask you about one more issue: I spoke before the beginning of the deliberations with Mr. Klaus who said—I am not quoting exactly, but the substance of what he said was that the republican governments allegedly had not even discussed these proposals, while the Federal Government discussed them for 10 hours and that was in fact why the Federal Government was not capable of adopting unequivocally what it did adopt.

[Meciar] Mr. Klaus is much mistaken and obviously is not as well informed about the work of the republican governments as we are about the Federal Government.

Every word, every sentence was discussed by a team of experts, discussed by ministers and the government. When the governments adopted the stance in the form in which it was presented to them, it was not because they are not interested in the federation, but because they respected the limits of a possible agreement. Both governments wanted to avoid a conflict. They wanted to avoid it.

As far as the Federal Government is concerned, its deliberations were divided into two parts. The first part lasted three hours and totally rejected all what we had agreed on. The second part lasted for about seven hours and had a matter-of-fact character, as the discussion concerned the content. What is for instance interesting is that those who during a general discussion rejected the whole principle when speaking matter-of-factly about the subject agreed with what was included in it. What does this serve for? They could have worked less and saved time. Nevertheless, this is the Federal Government's problem, as each of us has his own government and his own worries.

A view is voiced that the republics' solution is only a question of national minorities or nations. The question has in addition a sharply economic character. In the economy, all the concepts put forward so far by the Federal Government it is [word indistinct] to call it national territory. Let us call it a region. What is their program for a region? They do not have a proper program for it. It consists only of [words indistinct] value principles and regional principles of management are missing. [sentence indistinct] What is their program of infrastructures? They do not have it. The balance is impaired when federal bodies are responsible for a factory [words indistinct] but the republic, its national government, is responsible for the social sphere and the

environment around the factory and for the infrastructure. What is the purpose of this kind of double management? Look at the decision about the conversion in Martin [from military to civilian production], the consequences of which are to be tackled by the republican governments? For God's sake, the management cannot continue in this way.

Let us look at yet another issue: Every management is influenced by the quality of the apparatus. Can old apparatus without organizational and personnel changes cope with new tasks? You can answer this yourselves. That is why we are creating the system conditions in which it can be done. You know, there are humiliating remarks stating that it is a national movement, etc.—yes, the nations and national minorities are living on this territory, but this does not mean that a simple manifestation of a nation's interests [pouhy projav narodni] is a manifestation of nationalism. Is anybody disbanding the French Republic and leaving the EEC only because the French are living on its territory? Is anybody voicing similar views about other national minorities or nations, has anybody the same demands on them? Every region, every nation lives on a certain territory, and citizens of that territory have certain specific interests.

It is correct that they protect the state bodies, government, Slovak National Council—nothing else is involved. We are looking for conditions for cooperation with the world and among ourselves. The management is not of high enough quality. If you think that it is of a good quality then go to [word indistinct], mines and there you will be told about the quality of the management. Go around Slovak mines or factories to look at the conditions there—they could only be in worse conditions after a fire.

[Miklosko] I would only add that in Slovakia the national issue is really linked to economic interests, but I do not see anything wrong with it; it is a natural process which I would see at the moment more as a positive one.

Klaus on Power Divisions, Media, OF

LD1211000890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 11 Nov 90

[Text] After the last discussion on the division of power between governments, it seems that both republics do not want the Federal Government to exist anymore, said federal finance minister and Civic Forum [OF] chairman Vaclav Klaus at the beginning of his meeting with inhabitants of Hradec Kralove today. He however pointed out that even if the inhabitants did not know who their national finance minister was, the Federal Government was not that useless.

Vaclav Klaus thinks that the media does not give clear information about whether people support recent economic changes or not, and that its main interest lies in covering extreme views or critical attitudes. He stressed that it was important for the public to state clearly what and who it supports.

Talking about OF, he said that many people who did not agree with the movement's principles were trying to hide behind it, and that it was a nonsense to allow these people to carry on being members. According to Klaus it is good that OF is acquiring a clear image and that its spectrum of views is becoming narrower.

Talking about compensation for the damage caused by the Soviet Army, he stated that he is due to meet his Soviet counterpart this week and that they will discuss this issue.

Vaclav Klaus also said that during the last year inflation has reached 7.2 percent. He stressed that it was important now to insure that it will not rise.

Vaclav Klaus described as a problem the fact that beginning next year we will also face—apart from the implementation of changes—a whole range of difficulties caused by the outside world which our country will not be able to influence in any way.

Calfa Speaks on Power Division

LD1211214890 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1855 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Address by Federal Premier Marian Calfa on stand of Federal Government on division of power within the federation on 12 November; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed citizens of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic:

For several months now, our public and political circles have been agitated about the question of the division of power between the federation and the republics. The representatives of the republics have many times publicly clarified and explained their ideas on the future division of power in our federative state. The Federal Government has also publicly explained its standpoint in my speech in the Federal Assembly at the begining of September. Today I would like to go over the standpoint of the Federal Government.

A modern state is a complicated organism, the attributes of which have been developing for centuries since the days of ancient Rome. These attributes—that is, the fundamental conditions for a state being a state, and being able to function as such—cannot be changed at will because this would seriously threaten its viability. Just as in the human organism there are paired organs which are capable of working independently of each other and without being directed from above, so also are there organs which are not paired, which are central, which cannot be divide or the organism would perish or at the very least would suffer irreparable damage. Both kidneys work independently of each other, and each can also function on its own. It is not possible to divide the heart, however. Although it is possible to divide the brain into two halves, this would make the human individual insentient and incapable of independent life. This also applies to the state.

A state can, and should, delegate as much jurisdiction as possible to its constituent parts, whether these are republics within a federation, federal countries, or whether there is another political and administrative setup. The state cannot, however, give up some powers, or it stops being a true state. If a state is to be a state, it must be capable of securing its defense capability as a whole. This requires the existence of a unified, centrally commanded army. This principle is not violated in countries which are federations or federal states based on a nationality or language principle, as in Canada or Switzerland. The reason is clear: The existence or even the possibility of rexistence of several armies within one state represents an insupportable threat to the state.

If a state is to be a state it must act as a unit on the international scene; it must has a united international policy which is realized within a complicated network of relations with other states and groups of states or international institutions, including questions of protocol. It must have the exclusive right to enter into international agreements and sign important documents with other states, because from the international viewpoint it is considered to be the only guarantor of their fulfillment. This, however, does not affect the right of the constitutent parts of the state to enter into and fulfill agreements with the constituent parts of other states.

If a state is to be a state, it must be able, as a whole, to secure its own internal security. For this it must have a single security concept and the possibility of carrying out functions necessary to fight international crime, terrorism, and the drug trade, as well as the right to organize a single intelligence service as necessary.

It must be capable as a whole entity to help its constitutional parts in a situation when they are not capable of solving this situation by their own means.

The constitutional parts should have the right to organize their own armed police corps to protect citizens' property and security.

If a state is to be a state, it must have one currency, one monetary system and, a unified system of policies on taxes, finances, prices, and customs issues, including the imposition of unified measures regulating prices. A single emission [as heard] bank is also an expression of this unity. In the market system it is set up by the state but not managed by the state. It must be totally independent from state and political institutions.

If a state is to be a state, it must be capable of financing its own activities through an internally consistent state budget which pays for the necessary state administration, defense, activity of other federal bodies, creation of financial reserves for implementing federal programs, and unexpected expenses. The volume of this budget cannot be lower than a minimum level. Already now the ratio of the volume of our federal budget to our republics' budgets is one of the lowest in the world.

Further reduction of the federation's state budget will mean that the Federal Government will not be able to rule and the Federal Assembly will have nothing to decide in this sense. The existence of an adequate federal budget does not affect the right of the republics to implement their own budget policy.

If a state is to be a state, it must have a unified concept of economic strategy and external economic relations. It must have a unified policy on energy supply. It must bear economic responsibility for networks which constitute the infrastructure, for instance the oil pipelines, gas pipelines, electricity grids, motorways, railway network, basic telecommunications network, etc. In the cooperation between a unified center of financial policy and a unified central bank, it must regulate the process of economy on a macroeconomic level.

Republics naturally have the right to decide their concrete economic activities within their spheres of jurisdiction and delegate this right to lower bodies.

If a state is to be a state, it must ensure that all citizens are informed about events in the whole country, about its own policy and important political decisions. For this purpose the existence of a national mass media is essential. This media does not have to be state-owned. But until media either publicly or privately owned are set up, the state must provide information through nationwide media financed from the federal budget.

By doing this we do not intervene with the right of the republics and other subjects to set up and support their own media to the extent they consider appropriate.

If a state is to be a state, it must now secure a unified fundamental legal framework concerning the questions of the environment and building of a statewide information system linked to the international systems. The environment does not recognize borders. In our situation this means among other things that the state must bear the responsibility for the safety of nuclear installations.

If a state is to be a state, it nowadays needs unified regulation of the labor market, wages, and social policy.

Our homeland is not only a common home of the Czechs, Slovaks, and other nationalities, but above all it is the state of sovereign citizens who created it in order to serve them and provide them with the necessary legal guarantees for free and dignified life in democratic conditions. We cannot imagine the federative state which would not have the fundamental legal powers regarding issues with direct impact on citizens' rights, freedoms, and position in society.

If the Federal Assembly is to continue to be the supreme constitutional and legislative body of the representatives directly elected by all our citizens, it must also have the powers to adopt the laws for them. Only in such a way it

is possible to secure a real implementation of the principle of equal rights for all citizens regardless of their nationality, race, religion, or political conviction.

The implementation of these general principles in the specific conditions of our federative state of the two independent nations dictates the minimal range of powers which have to belong to the federation. These powers are the expression of the sovereignty of our state, which was historically formed not by the delegation of powers to a higher entity but by the common will of the Czechs and Slovaks. On this fact the original legitimity of our state, including its internationallly recognized borders, is based. All the leading political representatives of both the federation and republics recently ceremoniously confirmed this fact by their signatures on the occasion of the 72d anniversary of the foundation of our state.

This is the standpoint with which we are approaching tomorrow's talks with the representatives of the republics. We are convinced that we will jointly reach a consensus which will clear the way for us to solve the problems linked to economic reform. We consider the reform in the interests of all our citizens to be our urgent priority.

Thank you for your attention.

Havel Backs Federal Position

LD1211212990 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Excerpts] We begin this bulletin with the latest information from Prague where, according to an agency report, confidential talks about the division of powers between the federation and the national republics appear to have culminated. The office of the Federal Government Presidium was visited by President Vaclav Havel who later met with all three premiers, Marian Calfa [federal], Petr Pithart [Czech], and Vladimir Meciar [Slovak]. Vaclav Klaus, federal minister of finance and chairman of Civil Forum, is also said to have been at Prague Castle. The subject of these talks is not yet known. [passage omitted]

A few minutes ago we received a report that the Republic President Vaclav Havel has aligned himself with the standpoint of the Federal Government. He also gave details of his visit to the office of the government presidium, saying that he had taken part in a session of the Council for the Defense of the State. In the afternoon he had talks with various politicians at Prague Castle, but republic premiers were not among them, according to the statement by Vaclav Havel. The president also said that during today's talks he did not deal with questions which are on the agenda of tomorrow's meeting of three premiers and some ministers.

Premiers Agree on Foreign Policy

LD1311153390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Talks between the premiers of all three governments and of other representatives on the draft of the amendment of constitutional bill on the Czechoslovak federation continue in Prague. Miroslav Dietrich reports from Hrzan Palace, where the talks are taking place.

[Dietrich] The talks are continuing behind closed doors. We, however, managed to have a short chat with Jiri Dienstbier, federal deputy premier and minister of foreign affairs. He said that the talks are continuing successfully. Asked what foreign policy will be like, he said that it will, naturally, be unified because there can be only one exponent of international law. And even if we wished to speculate about some other arrangement, nobody will recognize it anyway. The republics and other subjects will, of course, be able to conclude agreements abroad. They will, however, have to obtain Federal Government's authoritzation for these agreements. When leaving the talks, Jiri Dienstbier also told us that an agreement was reached on the issues of foreign policy and foreign trade.

Premiers Reach Taxation Compromise

LD1311182390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1615 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Interview with CSFR Premier Marian Calfa by unidentified newsmen in Prague on 13 November; Calfa speaks in Slovak—recorded]

[Text] Premiers Marian Calfa, Petr Pithart, and Vladimir Meciar are meeting in Hrzan Palace in Prague today to discuss the division of powers between the federation and the national republics. Federal Premier Marian Calfa granted an interview to newsmen during an interval. Asked whether the Federal Government was on the offensive after his television address yesterday, he said:

[Calfa] Come on, all three of us are on the offensive! [laughter] Naturally, I pushed the Federal Government onto the offensive. My speech pushed the two governments onto the offensive the next day. This is an understandable reaction. But, just look here, many people are sitting here. Representatives of the National Councils, which have not previously participated in the work of the executives, are here. Representatives of the Federal Assembly and many representatives of national governments are also here. Thus, the discussion on some matters is very broad, so broad that it is beginning to eat into the allocated time. We will have to give it a gentle push. However, the effort of all three [governments] to reach something tangible is evident, even after we expressed our views. I should say, of course, that when we explain the Federal Government's stance the republics accept it, in most cases. On some matters, the republics put forward certain arguments, but we found a

way out, possibly a compromise, a third solution. However, the outcome of it is a kind of a proposal, which, in my view would represent a sound definition of the federation for the period to come.

Right now, we have adjourned the talks. We were elucidating the division of powers between the federation and the republics in the sphere of the taxation system, such as what kind of taxation system should be set by the federation. The question is whether the federation should have in its power, in the form of a law, to establish an entire comprehensive system of taxes and levies, or rather if it should list all that could exist in this state, which the republics could then use in part, discarding other things. This is being extensively discussed. The republics are arguing that they would like to have their own opportunity to consider their own taxes and payments and make use of foreign experience. Our argument is that in this situation we would like to see that the whole thing is organized and coordinated and that it should be done under one law. The other thing which is debated is what limits, what room for maneuvering, and what taxes and levies should be determined by the federation.

This is being discussed right now. It is not, however, a controversial discussion. I would say rather that this is a discussion which elucidates the philosophy of the taxation policy. Thus we can say that this is a discussion of specialists.

Slovak Committee Approves Amendment

LD1311201190 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Summary] The Slovak National Council Constitutional Legal Committee today discussed the bill amending constitutional law Number 143/1968 of the volume on the Czechoslovak federation. The bill says that the sovereignty of the republics is primary, and that of the federation is secondary. The scope of the jurisdiction of the federation is determined only by the scope of issues entrusted to it by the republics. Republics themselves will carry responsibility for their own economic and social development. This bill was approved by the committee in a majority vote.

Slovak Minister Ladislav Kosta, answering a question during the session about what would happen if today's meetings of the three premiers were unsuccessful, said that at the meeting in Modra- Harmonia it was assumed that this just would not happen. In theory, however, if no agreement was reached alternative proposals would be put forward to the Federal Assembly. If the Slovak members of parliament did not agree with the federal demands, a constitutional crisis with regard to Federal Assembly could be the result.

Leaders Draft Constitutional Bill

LD1311205890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] The meeting of Premiers Marian Calfa, Petr Pitart, and Vladimir Meciar, and other representatives on the division of powers between the Federal Government and the national governments ended in Prague today. Jaroslav Skalicky is in our studio with the latest information.

[Skalicky] The complete text of a new draft constitutional bill on the Czechoslovak federation—those parts which concern the division of powers between the Federal Government and republican governments—is the result of the meeting. This conclusion was presented to journalists at the end of the meeting by Federal Premier Marian Calfa. He, along with Czech National Council Chariman Dagmar Buresova and Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko, answered our questions.

Premier Calfa said the draft creates a basis for a new quality of relations between the federation and the republics, while it does not weaken anything in the federation. At the same time, it creates scope for the fulfillment of the sovereignty of the republics. Concerning specific issues, an agreement has been reached on all important points. It has been agreed, for example, that foreign relations will be in the federation's powers, that the issue of rail transportation would be examined again and finally resolved in the new constitutions. The federation will have its mass media. This concerns, above all, radio and television. The issue of the state of emergency [vyjimecny stav] was withdrawn from the agenda. The draft changes will be submitted to all governments for examination—to the federal government this coming Thursday, to the Czech Government on Friday, but the Slovak Government has not yet set the date. Early next week, both national governments should deal with the draft.

All three representatives expressed satisfaction with the results of today's talks. Premier Calfa expressed the belief that there will not be any changes or shifts in what was agreed on today.

Calfa Interviewed on Meeting

LD1411020990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Interview with CSFR Premier Marian Calfa and Dagmar Buresova and Frantisek Miklosko, chairmen of the Czech and Slovak National Councils respectively, by correspondents Jaroslav Skalicky and Oldrich Sestak after the talks between Calfa and the Czech and Slovak premiers at Hrzan Palace in Prague on 13 November—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Correspondent] In the course of the meeting we learned that not all the solutions to the issues and problems of ownership were

completed. Some of them were postponed until the constitution drafting stage. Could you clarify these disputed issues?

[Buresova] This is, indeed, correct. We were not certain whether we would be able to list properly everything which belongs to the federation, and because as I said, this list must be itemized, we left this problem for the stage in the course of which constitutions will be drafted. [passage omitted]

[Calfa] I would like to ask you to understand the expression disputed issues correctly. We held quite a long discussion on some provisions. Take for example the provision of how the division of powers in the sphere of labor and social affairs should be expressed in the constitution, and so on. Even today we do not have a final view on it; and we concluded a number of issues and noted that this is enough for this stage, and in one year after the start of the economic reform we will have more experience and these matters will simply be hammered out in the constitutions drafting stage.

It was therefore quite easy to carry out this work, because we are facing the drafting of constitutions in a year and the things which appear to us in a certain way today might be shaped differently in the constitutions.

For example, as far as the distribution of frequencies is concerned, there was a discussion around this issue, because this is a rather controversial question. It is discussed and so on. The republics are of the view that the federation should not have the right to allocate a frequency to someone who is broadcasting on the territory of the republic without any kind of control by the republic. On the other hand, we argue that these are matters entrusted to the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic by an international organization, that it represents an ownership of the state, and that the state should have a way of controlling it. At our disposal is the law on telecommunications. At the end of November we shall have another small circle talk on the issues of press and media, because they urgently need to be regulated—all of us are aware of that. We are getting ready for these talks and would like to discuss this issue there again. The point is that we split the issues into several stages. As far as this stage is concerned, we concluded the issues and we concluded them in such a way that we are able to note that in this stage there are no contentious issues. [passage omitted]

I would like to put the issue like this. Naturally, the views of all decisions adopted by us are not absolutely identical. But the decisions which were adopted here were adopted through a general consensus of the entire representations present here. So that the representations did not have to hold a unanimous view, but they simply bowed to the will of their majority, so to speak, because they knew that it was necessary to reach a consensus, to close these issues so that they could be submitted to the legislative corps and so that the executive bodies could focus on everyday issues and the start of the economic reform, because these are the issues we are facing. [passage omitted]

We, indeed, made room available for everyone who could put forward any suggestion, because more minds know more and then we attempted to make a matter-of-fact conclusion from all these suggestions, which would represent an understanding, a solution and a legal language expression of this issue. I even think that listening to the arguments put forward on individual points was a kind of a lesson for certain members of the government. For all of us it was a massive lesson on constitutional matters.

[Correspondent] Will you be discussing television in the end of November, too?

[Calfa] I would very much like to discuss it and discuss it very intensively.

[Correspondent] Do you think that Czech television will come into being at long last?

[Calfa] Whether either the Czech or the Slovak Television comes into being does not depend on our discussions. I would like to say one thing only: that the Federal Government will insist that the federal institutions have at their disposal their independent channel or their independent source of information both in radio and television with a small production base, but within the power of the federation. The stance that we should be permitted access to republican media in certain regions is unacceptable to us. I consider this stance to be out of date.

Calfa Comments on Draft Amendments

LD1411043390 Prague CTK in English 0017 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 13 (CTK)—"The result is a complete draft of amendments to the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation in the part concerning the division of powers between the Federation and the republics", Premier Marian Calfa said here this evening.

He was speaking after 11-hour talks of teams which represented the Federal, Czech and Slovak Governments as well as the Czech and Slovak National Councils which had already debated a previous blueprint.

The premier said that the result was a consistent draft of changes that had been agreed. It would now be presented to all the three governments. The Federal Government will discuss it on Thursday and the Czech Government on Friday. The Slovak Government is yet to fix the date. "We would like it to be as soon as possible. The National Councils (Czech and Slovak parliaments) would receive a draft agreed by all the three governments at the beginning of next week. We believe that no changes will be made during the discussion by the governments in what has been agreed today. [no closing quotation marks as received]

He defined the accord as the basis of a new quality in relations between the Federation and the republics.

"It defines all the functions of the Federation and in no way weakens it. It is simply a different federation from what we have known so far. At the same time the republics have a scope to implement their sovereignty as well as the election programs of those groupings which form the ruling coalitions in the republics", Calfa said.

Meciar Views Proposed Changes

LD1411043790 Prague CTK in English 0043 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 13 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar did not regard the scope of the changes proposed by the Federal Government in the former blueprint for power-sharing as substantial and believed that the political uproar around them was not adequate to the result.

"The meeting produced nothing new, this is the greatest tragedy," he commented after the talks of the Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak premiers and representatives of the Czech and Slovak parliaments ended here today.

"If such a great instability is caused and such a dramatic meeting prepared as Monday's statement of Premier Calfa on television did, then it must be commensurate to the result and to what is demanded. And this was not," he stressed. He expressed doubts if it was useful to have such an extensive program for one session.

The Slovak political representation at the meeting was led by Slovak National Council (Slovak parliament) chairman Frantisek Miklosko because, according to Meciar, the Slovak Government had passed the draft to the council and it was thus in its jurisdiction. Meciar could not guess what the result of discussions on the amendments would be in parliament.

Miklosko said earlier, while the talks were still under way, that their "notions were fulfilled."

Slovak First Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky said that the provisions had been discussed one by one and in all of them "the best solution in substantial and pragmatic terms was achieved from the point of view of all the three governments." "I assess the result, the agreement and the materials approved as good on the whole," he said. He did not think that problems would prevent adoption of the draft by the Slovak parliament.

Carnogursky, who is chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), a member of the ruling coalition in Slovakia, said that the KDH long-term aim to seek Slovak independence meant that this related to Slovakia's status in an integrated Europe as an entity with its own identity equal with other nations which, he said, was also a point in the federal government program. He said the point in time to which this applied would be Czechoslovakia's entry into the European Community. Slovakia should have its own representation in EC bodies and at the same time should have some joint bodies with the Czech Republic. At a time when Czechoslovakia will join the EC, Europe will apparently have a common foreign policy to a great extent. Slovakia will naturally be integrated within this framework. If some of its foreign political interests will be common with the Czech Republic, they may be institutionalized in some way, Carnogursky said.

Commenting on the KDH demand for a Slovak bank of issue he said that the movement did not have a thoroughly worked out stand to be able to make a concrete proposal but it remained a long-term aim for KDH.

OF's Sokol Reports on Meeting

LD1411114690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Excerpts] After an 11-hour meeting, Prime Minsters Marian Calfa, Petr Pithart, and Vladimir Meciar, and other representatives agreed yesterday to a complete text of the draft amendment to the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation on the part that concerns the division of power between the federation and the republics. They decided to give the draft to all three governments for evaluation. It should be put to the national councils at the begining of next week. [passage omitted]

Also taking part in the meeting was Jan Sokol, chairman of the Club of Deputies of the Civic Forum [OF]. He believes almost all of the economic issues were successfully dealt with. The prime ministers agreed that a central bank, which will be called the Czechoslovak State Bank, should be subordinate to the federation. It should implement a united currency policy.

According to Jan Sokol, OF Chairman Vaclav Klaus was also satisfied with the solution to the issue of the federation's state budget. The budgets of the federation and the republics will be independent. Jan Sokol went on to say that the paragraph concerning the division of mineral wealth between the republics was left out of the proposal. In the area of international policy the republics will have the right to enter into international agreements with the agreement of the federation.

Socialist Party Regains Control Over Daily

AU1211092590

[Editorial Report] The 7 November issue of Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech is published with a new subtitle, which describes the daily as "newspaper of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS]." (Until 6 November the daily had appeared with the subtitle "daily of the Melantrich publishing house.") On the same day, on page 8, SVOBODNE SLOVO publishes a 200-word "r"-signed text explaining the change. The text, which is headlined "On the Situation in SVOBODNE SLOVO," reads: "Yesterday the CSS Central Committee Presidium made an attempt to change the management of the SVOBODNE SLOVO editorial office by installing former CSS spokesman I. Chlup to the post of chief editor. Members of the Prague editorial staff assumed a

stand against this attempt in a statement which the installed chief editor refused to publish in the newspaper. The editorial staff is of the opinion that the decision by the CSS Central Committee Presidium guarantees neither the newspaper's professional management nor the implementation of the proclaimed press freedom. In the evening a compromise was reached between representatives of the CSS Central Committee, the Melantrich publishing house, and the hitherto SVOBODNE SLOVO management, without the knowledge of most SVOBODNE SLOVO staff journalists. Chief Editor L. Petrik and his Deputies J. Dousek and P. Krasa remain in office but the information had to return to the newspaper's masthead that, under laws which are still valid, SVOBODNE SLOVO is a CSS newspaper. The editorial staff remains on strike alert."

Split in New Right-Wing Party Over StB Links

AU1211100890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Nov 90 p 2

["kj"-signed report in the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone....." column]

[Text] The Czechoslovak National Congress [a recently formed right-wing political party] set up a crisis committee on Tuesday [6 November]. It issued a statement which declares that this step was taken as a result of J. Matzner and V. Froelich unlawfully seizing the Czechoslovak National Congress Secretariat, thereby willfully creating a new committee—the activity of which is at variance with the party statutes. According to the statement, J. Matzner had been expelled from the party because of his alleged paid collaboration with the State Security Corps [StB].

Students' Call To Mark 17 November Anniversary

AU1211091590

[Editorial Report] Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech on 7 November on page 7 publishes a 700-word statement signed by eight students (including Martin Mejstrik, the most prominent student leader) who were among the main organizers of the protests which led to the collapse of the communist regime after 17 November 1989. The statement is pegged to the upcoming first anniversary of the 17 November events. As the students point out, they do not want to celebrate 17 November "because there is no reason to celebrate. We ourselves have stolen this revolution, by our own inconsistency and by that of our representatives. November 17, 1990 should become a day of peace and reflection, a nonpolitical recollection of the days of our revolt and joy of the end of last year." The statement calls for a "dignified and humble rally on Saturday, 17 November, at 1500 hours at Wenceslas Square" to "express mutual support, respect, and tolerance." As it points out, President Vaclav Havel is also being invited.

Civic Forum Group in Parliament Elects Chairman

AU1211095690 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 6 Nov 90 p 3

["mes"-signed report: "J. Sokol, Chairman of the Civic Forum Club"]

[Text] The election of chairman of the Civic Forum [OF] Club of Deputies took place in the Federal Assembly yesterday. In the first round of voting, neither of the two candidates gained the necessary more than 50 percent of the vote. Jan Sokol received 52 votes and Daniel Kroupa, chairman of the interparliamentary club of the right, 47 votes, whereupon Daniel Kroupa withdrew his candidacy in favor of his rival. In the second round, the only candidate Jan Sokol was elected chairman of the OF Parliamentary Club by a majority of 63 votes.

Ministry Suspends Sprusil From New Secret Service

AU1211091390 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 6 Nov 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Minister Hradilek on the 'Sprusil Case'; Federal Interior Ministry's Jurisdiction Infringed Upon"]

[Text] Prague—Investigations by the Czech Ministry of Interior Inspection Agency have revealed that Lieutenant Colonel Jiri Sprusil, who has been suspended from the post of chief of the Regional Administration of the National Security Corps in Ostrava, did not respect the set jurisdiction, both in relation to the Public Security Administration operating under the Regional Administration of the National Security Corps in Ostrava and, in particular, in relation to the Ostrava branch of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy. This follows from a statement issued by Czech Republic Interior Minister Tomas Hradilek yesterday.

Tomas Hradilek stated that the Czech Ministry of Interior Inspection Agency wound up its inquiry into Lieutenant Colonel Sprusil's activity on 2 November. In connection with Sprusil's infringements upon the jurisdiction of the Federal Ministry of Interior, however, inquiry has also been taken up by the Federal Ministry of Interior Inspection Agency. The complete investigation of Lieutenant Colonel Jiri Sprusil's activity can be wound up only after the federal inspection body concludes its inquiry.

A joint statement on the case issued by the CSFR and the Czech Republic ministers of interior states, among other things, that Lieutenant Colonel Vaclav Chovanec, director of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy in Ostrava, and Major Milan Prochazka, department head at the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy in Ostrava, have both been suspended from their posts in the interest of safeguarding the inquiry's full objectivity.

South African Minister To Visit Czechoslovakia

AU1411115090 Prague CTK in English 1352 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 12 (CTK)—Sasa Vondra, the Czechoslovak president's foreign policy adviser, said here today that South African Foreign Minister Roelof Frederic Botha will visit Czechoslovakia on Thursday November 15 and will meet President Vaclav Havel.

Vondra told a press conference that the visit falls within a series of talks aimed at a gradual establishment of diplomatic ties with the South African Republic, first at consular level.

Vondra also said that on November 19-21 a Czechoslovak delegation, consisting of President Vaclav Havel, Premier Marian Calfa and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, would attend the Parisian summit of the participating states in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. During the summit, the Czechoslovak representatives will discuss bilateral relations with Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, Finnish President Mauno Koivisto, Swedish Premier Ingvar Carlsson, Dutch Premier Ruud Lubbers, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and possibly Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. "The Czechoslovak side asked for this meeting in compensation for a meeting that did not take place at the originally planned Warsaw Pact summit in Budapest. The date is still being negotiated," Vondra said on a possible Havel-Gorbachev meeting in Paris.

During the visit, Vaclav Havel will collect the Simon Bolivar Prize at the UNESCO headquarters.

Vondra said President Havel, accompanied by Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus and Slovak Deputy Premier Vladimir Ondrus, will visit Switzerland on November 21-23. He will visit the Palace of Nations in Geneva, the Europe Nuclear Research Center and the International Red Cross headquarters. He is expected to meet Czech and Slovak expatriates. A joint declaration on the use of means released by the Swiss Government in support of Central and East European countries is to be signed during the visit.

A crisis team of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry is currently involved in intensive diplomatic negotiations for the release of 40 Czechoslovak citizens being held hostage by Iraq, according to Vondra. Most of the 500 Czechoslovaks who were in Iraq when the crisis broke out have already been brought home.

Vondra denied that President Havel's planned visit to the Philippines was called off for financial reasons. "The only reason was time," explained Vondra. "If the president were to visit both Japan and the Philippines he would be out of the country for the whole month, which would not be possible."

Between Vaclav Havel and Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus there are no meaningful disagreements, said Presidential Press Secretary Michael Zantovsky. (Some media have mentioned a difference in understanding of the principles of the country's economic reform between Havel and Klaus. The Czechoslovak independent daily LIDOVE NOVINY declared the election of Klaus as chairperson of Civic Forum in October a defeat for presidential policy.)

Zantovsky also announced that Canadian Foreign Minister Charles Joseph Clark will meet with Havel on Thursday November 15.

Botha Arrives on 'Private Visit'

LD1311191690 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1830 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Roelof Botha, foreign affairs minister of the Republic of South Africa, arrived in Czechoslovakia tonight for a private visit.

Apart from scheduled meetings with our representatives, he will be received on 15 November by President Vaclav Havel.

Botha's visit is the first stop on his trip around some countries of the so-called Eastern Bloc.

Minister Recounts Hurd Talks

MB1411063890 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0612 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 14 SAPA—The South African minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, has arrived in the Czechoslavakian capital, Prague, from London on the first leg of his visit to Eastern Europe, reports SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news.

During the visit the minister will also visit Romania and Yugoslavia. It will be the first visit by a SA [South African] cabinet minister to the three East European countries.

Mr. Botha said after his visit to London he and Mr. Douglas Hurd—his British counterpart—had exchanged information on developments in each others' countries and regions.

He had not asked for sanctions to be eased because they were crumbling anyway, he said. If the European Community accepted President F.W. de Klerk's reform steps, it had to act according to its convictions, he added.

Talks on Soviet Troop Withdrawal Reported

LD1111192990 Prague CTK in English 1453 GMT 11 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 11 (CTK)—Discussions of Czechoslovak and Soviet commissions of experts on property and financial issues connected with the intergovernmental agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia signed in Moscow on February 26, 1990 were held here on November 5-10.

The experts discussed the fulfillment of the agreement and signed several documents.

Heads of the commissions, Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Vojtech Wagner and Soviet Deputy Minister for External Economic Relations Yuriy Grishin, agreed that the discussions will continue.

A total of 73,500 Soviet soldiers were stationed in Czechoslovakia. Their withdrawal started on February 26, 1990. 58 percent of soldiers, 53 percent of civilians (family members), 78 percent of tanks, 66 percent of armoured vehicles, 79 percent of artillery and 81 percent of the air force have left the country by October 18 this year.

In its statement of December 3, 1989 the Czechoslovak Government characterized the invasion of five Warsaw Pact members states of August 1968 as a violation of the norms of the relations between sovereign states and suggested to the Soviet Government discussions on the annulment of the intergovernmental agreement on the "temporary stay of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia" of October 16, 1968.

Government representatives of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland and the Soviet Union said during a meeting of the Warsaw Pact leading officials in Moscow on December 4, 1989 that the entry of their troops into Czechoslovakia in August 1968 was an interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign Czehcoslovak state and must be condemned.

Jeszenszky on Council of Europe Membership

AU1311121290 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 8 Nov 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Gabor Arato on board airplane enroute from Rome to Budapest on 7 November: "The Advantage of Our Council of Europe Membership Is Not Merely Symbolic"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] "Even if we are not in possession of a formal mandate to represent other former socialist countries in the Council of Europe [CE], we are still suitable for conveying their problems, and we could pass on our own experience on the road to accession to them." That was one of the statements made by Geza Jeszenszky in his interview to our newspaper.

[Arato] Public opinion believes—and this is also true—that we want to join (or return to) Europe because the success or failure of our economic recovery depends on this. I know that many people are perplexed when they hear that our CE membership brings no direct advantage, and they ask: "What it is all for, in that case?" What is it all for?

[Jeszenszky] I would definitely not subscribe to the view that our accession only has a symbolic significance—a view that may actually exist. Apart from the fact that our country's image is important to everyone, there is definitely also a direct economic significance of our CE membership. Yesterday, I had the opportunity to meet Portugal's foreign minister, and, from our talks, I learned that the influx of international capital into Portugal had risen dramatically after joining the CE.

Investors look for familiar grounds. The fact that Hungary legally and politically forms part of this extremely important European organization is a rather serious guarantee for foreign capital. Moreover, our CE membership goes hand in hand with the acceptance of a European legal order and a system of conventions which Hungarian laws have to adapt to, and this will help us attain our highest aim, namely our accession to the EEC.

Let us not forget that Strasbourg is not only the seat of the CE's headquarters, it also hosts the European Parliament. There is an extremely close-knit system of institutions and personal contacts between the two organizations. We are now also in a position to start our integration into this system.

[Arato] In your speech in Rome you said that "we would like to act as the representative and pioneer of former European communist countries" in the CE. Do we have a mandate for such a role? Has anyone asked us to play this role, or have we ever offered to assume this position?

[Jeszenszky] I am convinced that Hungary really does represent this entire region, along with its ordeals, history, and 40 years of difficult experiences. As long as the other former socialist countries are not CE members, we can convey these experiences to the organization. My personal experience is also that my political colleagues, businessmen, as well as the representatives of the younger generation have a very vague idea of the events that are taking place in this region. I, however, also see that our neighbors appreciate our support and our willingness to act as a spokesperson.

[Arato] Is there any proof behind what you "see"?

[Jeszenszky] There is feedback. Our neighbors sent very hearty congratulations on the occasion of our accession, and I believe that these were not just formalities or sour grapes. When we announced to parliament the measures that would accompany our accession, I personally stressed that we want to advance along with our neighbors, and that we support them in every way. We have a much better understanding of their problems than Westerners, so I think that we are suitable for the interpretation of these problems, even if we are not actually in possession of a formal mandate in this area. In any case, we are talking about a short-term program: I am confident that, within a very short time, our neighboring countries will also satisfy the accession requirements of the CE.

Incidentally—and this is something that the general public does not really know—it is not so easy to satisfy these requirements. In Hungary, an army of experts spent months examining whether the norms of our institutions and laws already satisfied European requirements. We would be very happy to share our experience in this area with our neighbors, if they would like to benefit from our knowledge.

[Arato] During the Rome meeting, Pan-Europeanism was often mentioned by many delegates as being the common goal that the countries of our region should try to reach. Does the achievement of pan-Europeanism not make European regional cooperation superfluous? I am thinking first of the Pentagonal group.

[Jeszenszky] I see no contradiction whatsoever between the two. A united Europe and regional cooperation are two interdependent processes. I cannot imagine Europe as a super-state governed by bureaucrats. Our continent is going to be the Europe of nations, the Europe of regions, and while common interests remain in general, the regions will maintain their individuality. There are and there will continue to be language groups, common cultural circles, and countries linked through history. These groups of countries will also continue with their cooperation in a united Europe.

[Jeszenszky] Such groups include the Pentagonal, which may not include all of Central Europe, but still comprises a large part of it. The Pentagonal is not an ideological, but a particularly pragmatic grouping, and we will see the many practical advantages of this group in the near future. Roads and railroads will be built, new border crossings will be opened, and joint ventures will be set up; I am convinced that all this will already happen within a year. We have, however, always stressed that the Pentagonale is no alternative to Europeanism.

[Arato] Does Hungary's foreign policy foresee any joint regional cooperation with Romania?

[Jeszenszky] I would very much welcome any step that brings Hungary and Romania closer together. First, however, we have to settle our relations bilaterally. Nevertheless, any multilateral mediation would further our bilateral contacts. The basic question of whether regional cooperation can develop in northeastern Europe or southeastern Europe—cooperation programs that certain parts of Hungary could join—does not primarily depend on us. There are currently embryonic initiatives to set up such organizations, and we are prepared to take part.

[Arato] I read in this morning's newspapers that Prime Minister Antall believes that "the obstacles and negative factors in Hungarian-Soviet relations which the Hungarian press often refers to do not actually exist." The prime minister is probably thinking of the opinions according to which we have deliberately spoiled our relations with the Soviet Union, and that the Soviets are consequently withholding their energy deliveries. What is your opinion on this matter?

[Jeszenszky] No one could seriously believe that the Hungarian Government or the Hungarian Foreign Ministry are narrow-minded or stupid enough to deliberately spoil relations with the Soviet Union. Regardless of the new structure that our eastern neighbor may develop, the Soviet Union is an extremely important partner for Hungary, both for our economic relations and for our fuel supplies. Not only are we not foolish enough to deliberately spoil our relations; the Hungarian Government has stressed from the beginning that we will continue to strive for good relations with the Soviet Union and its federated republics, relations which are based on a new foundation, on the basis of equality.

I can tell you that it is in fact clashing schedules that have made it impossible so far to organize high-level negotiations between the Soviet and the Hungarian leadership. At the end of last week, when the foreign ministers—or their representatives—of the six European states belonging to the Warsaw Pact signed their agreement on national levels of conventional forces, our prime minister held long talks with the Soviet deputy foreign minister, Yuliy Kvitsinskiy, and I also had a long exchange of views with him. I am convinced that these talks were very significant. I cannot give a date yet, but I can tell you that a foreign ministerial meeting may take place shortly—probably in Budapest—and that this meeting will be followed by a Soviet-Hungarian meeting at the highest level.

Italy's Rognoni Holds News Conference

LD1311125190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Peter Zentai report]

[Text] Let the army of the future be small in numbers, but equipped as befits the technology of the end of the century, and let it defend, first and foremost, the policy of European unity and democracy. This, in a nutshell, is what the Italian and Hungarian defense ministers had to say at their news conference at the end of their discussions.

Italian Defense Minister Virginio Rognoni's words oozed praise for Hungary and there was something in his expressions to the effect that not only the Common Market, but NATO as well, considers Hungary to be a state worthy of attention and deserving a better fate. At all events they agreed on a two-year inter-army cooperation program, the details of which have not yet been worked out, according to the signs. It is clear, however, that the exchange of officers, the establishment of contacts between military academies are all events on the agenda.

At the news conference, of course, Lajos Fur and his guest repeatedly emphasized the need to establish a modern all-European defense model, about which we could learn, if nothing else, that the basis of the new concept is the total elimination of the enemy image. I asked Minister Rognoni whether his country is planning to mobilize any further more significant military forces over and above the small military and air force units sent to Saudi Arabia. His answer, however, did not contain any concrete details. On the other hand, it could be sensed that Italy, evidently on account of its vital Arab connections, is urging a peaceful solution to the Middle East crisis more than the other NATO countries.

Tokes Defends Romanian Dissident Doru Braia

AU1211143790 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 8 Nov 90 p 4

[Interview with Presbyterian Bishop Laszlo Tokes by Eva Olah in Budapest; date not given: "Doru Braia Serves a Good Cause—Laszlo Tokes Talks in Favor of the Romanian Opposition Politician"; first paragraph is MAGYAR NEMZET introduction]

[Text] Prior to the Western television stations, MAGYAR NEMZET correspondent Eva Olah was the first to interview Laszlo Tokes in his hospital bed.

[Olah] As far as I know, you are personally acquainted with Romanian politician Doru Braia. The Radical Transnational Party and the Public Movement for United European States announced a peaceful demonstration at the Romanian Embassy in Budapest on 8 November in favor of Doru Braia, who is currently in Hungary.

[Tokes] Our acquaintance is only superficial. We met in Kolozsvar [Cluj] in January this year for the first time, at the time of the initial revolutionary euphoria. I came to know a very good friend who shares the same principles. I had every reason to come to this conclusion because we not only came to know each other during the momentary joy and freedom of the events, but we also had the opportunity to speak together in public, in front of masses of 5,000-10,000 people, at the Presbyterian Church on Farkas Street in Cluj. I celebrated mass, and then we jointly spoke to the people. On that occasion, I

came to know a truly European man on the basis of his words there. We lived through the hot moments of the initial Romanian-Hungarian rapprochement. An even more important and characteristic case was our tripartite meeting with Doina Cornea, something that, on Doru Braia's part, was a political act, because he was the one who brought us together for the first time in my life, and he consciously smoothed the way for Hungarian-Romanian reconciliation. As a Romanian living abroad, perhaps he was the most suitable person to do this, because he is a man who is able to overcome the conflicts of people in a similar situation, by looking ahead. At our meetings, Doru Braia displayed a high level of objectivity, and often accepted my arguments, as opposed to those of the Romanian side. I think that the current political situation and the higher political thinking have proved us right, if I think of our tripartite meetings. I say all this with a clear conscience, without being aware of his previous life and struggle. All I know is that, as a result of his opposing attitude, he was expelled from his country in a shameless way.

[Olah] What is your position concerning Doru Braia's open letter to President Ion Iliescu and his open letter to the Hungarian parliament in which he asks for our help in his struggle for a democratic Europe?

[Tokes] A correspondent of ROMANIA LIBERA, a daily known for its objective opposition attitude, visited me recently. I can tell you the same thing I told him—namely, that on given opportunities, I consider it my moral obligation to defend Doru Braia's basic human right to return to his homeland and freely exercise his civic and political rights there. In the area of human rights, the Romanian and Hungarian "minorities" can most naturally meet with each other.

MSZMP Negotiates With Cuban Counterparts

AU1211094690 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 6 Nov 90 p 3

[Interview with Laszlo Udvarhelyi, Central Committee secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (MSZMP), by Csaba Nagy; place and date not given: "No Moot Points Were Discussed"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] Laszlo Udvarhelyi recently spent a week holding official talks in Cuba. This visit was the first personal contact made between the Cuban Communist Party and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] since the restructuring of the latter in October 1989. Havana had already signaled through the grapevine that it considered the MSZMP as its brother-party.

[Udvarhelyi] This visit to Havana forms part of the international activities undertaken by the MSZMP. Through these activities we have established high-level contacts with the Communist parties of Austria, France, Greece, and Slovakia. Our delegation has even visited the Soviet Union twice—including the Gorbachev-Thurmer meeting—and there is presently a MSZMP delegation in the PRC.

[Nagy] As far as I know, the MSZMP's standpoint is diametrically opposed to Cuban views on some fundamental ideological issues, including private property, multiparty democracy, and armed internationalism. Which issues do the two sides agree on?

[Udvarhelyi] These issues were not brought up in concrete terms. Surmounting matters of detail, we recognize that, for Cuba, the socialist model is a possible solution. Similarly, capitalist restoration in Hungary has led the country up a blind alley, creating catastrophic circumstances already at this stage. The MSZMP and the Cuban Communist Party are united by our consistent representation of a communal society model.

[Nagy] Many people associate the PRC—recently visited by Gyula Thurmer—with the bloodshed on Tiananmen Square, and they associate Cuba with the rationings that have been going on for 30 years. In your opinion, what consequences do these visits have on the image of the MSZMP in Hungary?

[Udvarhelyi] We are talking about a strategic alliance that exists in principle, and which fits into our class policy. Indeed, the world is being divided once again, to the benefit of developed capitalist countries, and within this process, attempts are being made to revive the post-1945 U.S. hegemony. People do not really talk about this in Hungary nowadays. We think in global terms, and in that sense, we have both strategic allies and enemies. Our allies are the people who aim to struggle for a socialist-type model of society; that aim may have been chosen for whatever reason, and mistakes may have been made in certain cases.

[Nagy] In your opinion, which is the greatest lesson that the Cuban leadership can draw from the developments in Eastern Europe?

[Udvarhelyi] The Cuban leadership is analyzing the developments before it reaches a final conclusion. My impression is that Havana is calmly reflecting on several alternatives while preparing for expected difficulties. Cuba has elaborated behavior patterns according to each possible version.

Hungary Represents German Interests in Cambodia

LD1211200290 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Our country has assumed the representation of German interests in Cambodia, it is reported from the Far Eastern country. According to the agreement, Hungarians will take over the premises of the former East German Embassy, and a former GDR diplomat is already working as a member of the Hungarian representation.

Congress of Slovaks Elect New Chairwoman

LD1111192190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 11 Nov 90

[Text] The Congress of Slovaks in Hungary has ended with division persisting. The Organization of Slovak Youth in Hungary, the Writers' Union, and the Free Organization of Slovaks still do not consider as legitimate the Democratic Federation of Slovaks in Hungary, from whose name—in the terms of the decision just made by the Congress—the adjective democratic is to be omitted. Mrs. Robert Jakab, who until now has been general secretary, was elected chairwoman at the consultation. It was decided that the main objective is that the Federation of Slovaks in Hungary should become a self-government independent of parties and denominations.

Changes Name of Federation

LD1211130590 Budapest MTI in English 1036 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 11 (MTI)—There is no agreement between the Democratic Federation of Slovaks in Hungary, and the newly founded organizations of the Slovak minority: the Organization of Slovak Youths in Hungary, the Union of Slovak Writers in Hungary, and the Free Organization of Slovaks. The difference in views became obvious on Sunday, the closing day of the special congress of the federation, in Budapest.

Many delegates asked the new organizations to refrain from dividing the Slovaks in Hungary. Representatives of the three new organizations, who attended the congress as invited guests, said they do not consider the Democratic Federation of Slovaks in Hungary as a legitimate organization. Mrs Maria Jakab, the general secretary of the federation, said that the 200 delegates attending the congress were elected, with a secret vote, by residents of 87 Slovak-inhabited settlements, thus their legitimacy cannot be questioned.

The congress approved the new statutes of the federation. The document sets down that the organization's new name is Federation of Slovaks in Hungary, that is, it no longer includes the democratic attribute. This social organization represents the interests of the Slovaks in Hungary on all levels of state power, the participants stressed.

Mrs Maria Jakab, who to date was the general secretary, was elected president of the federation. The function of general secretary was eliminated.

The three new organizations proposed to convene another congress.

Pozsgay Discusses Political Beliefs

LD1211232690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1905 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Interview with Imre Pozsgay, former deputy chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP), by Tamas Forro; place and date not given—recorded: from the "Firsthand Information" program]

[Excerpts] [Forro] The guest on "Firsthand Information" is Imre Pozsgay, and I have to say that he contradicted his statement a year ago, when he said that, as far as his political beliefs and commitments are concerned, he is responding to challenges not by changing his place within the party, but by changing the place where he is sitting and working.

He now has decided to change his place.

[Pozsgay] I think the reply last year also included this possibility: I did not succeed in changing my position within the party in a way which would have suited me. For me, this means that I regard the principles as more important than an organization, even if for decades I worked as a disciplined member within organizational settings. For these reasons, the decision was not an easy one for me, and—still concerning my reply last year—I held out quite well until I had to reach this realization. [passage omitted]

[Forro] Eighteen months ago you told Radio Free Europe that you are not thinking in terms of a reform-communist party, but a socialist party. This party, at least in its name, is socialist.

[Pozsgay] It is a socialist party, and I do not wish to say anything critical about it. [passage omtited]

From the outset, however, I drew attention in the strongest possible terms to the fact that there is, in the history of the Hungarian socialist and left-wing movement, a very great gap—namely, this left could never establish its links with the problems of the nation, so the affairs of the state were expropriated by others and differently from how I would have liked it. [passage omitted]

[Forro] In your letter to the MSZP Congress, you said that you let your moral capital increase when you ran in four elections. Many would say you were on a forced course, and you really had no choice. When the opportunities for free choice increased, you immediately made use of this.

[Pozsgay] I did not make immediate use of this; rather, I made use of it after some contemplation, in the spirit of much considered contemplation. My freedom was restricted as long as the elections were taking place, though my thoughts and my struggles were already in play. I would not have regarded it as a decent thing, if I may say so, if I made my views public during one of the elections or electoral campaign. God could not save me from the accusation that I deliberately wanted to damage the electoral results of the party.

I fought these four elections, especially the last one, in this spirit. I did what I had to do, and I said what I had to; for these, I still take responsibility. I did not divert the attention of people in the wrong direction during the campaigns, but now, before the congress, I had to decide if my thoughts were ripe. Again, everyone could take it

wrong and back it up with the fact that I went to the congress, participated in the various activities there, pretended to accept the functions allocated to me, and then in a month's time said what I say now. The time was right for me to do it.

[Forro] For years, you were carrying the torch within the MSZP for the reform wing. If I remember correctly, I could recall four or five such occasions when there was a real chance for you to form a new party by causing a break in the party.

At the March party conference, on the occasion of the memorable statement concerning the counterrevolution, you never accepted the open break; you lasted to the end. Many would explain this simply as communist morale, communist behavior; others put it down to the decisions of—how can I put it—a political player.

It seems you accepted the decision to take the step, for which you had been predestined by history when your risks became very few.

[Pozsgay] I think this step was still risky, not from the point of view of my existence, but from the point of my political career. [passage omitted]

Consider this: When I made this well-known announcement about 1956 on 28 January 1989, it was not me who made the decision that there would not be a party break, but the Central Committee. [passage omitted]

In March-April, around the time of the reform movements, I again stressed that I would sacrifice myself any time, but not the country or my associates. I had, for example, information that Moscow had not yet decided if the Brezhnev Doctrine was still alive. I had information that only Karoly Grosz was acceptable as a credible leader who could have their support. All these, if I overstepped these limits, would have meant complications for the country; therefore, I had to think of these considerations.

[Forro] I was at Szekesfehervar when Karoly Grosz calmed down the elderly communists in Szekesfehervar who demanded weapons and wanted to go on to the streets. This was a closed meeting, journalists were not allowed in, but I heard from the technical premises of the Culture House how he defended you, how he calmed them down. There, however, would have been a chance for a counterrevolutionary restoration. Was there some kind of agreement between you and Karoly Grosz at that time, when the intraparty battles really could have been taken on to the streets, and blood could have flowed?

[Pozsgay] There was such an agreement. When he returned home from Davos—that was where he became acquainted with my statement—we met immediately that Monday afternoon. This exchange of views took place, naturally amid reciprocal accusations, but in relatively civilized circumstances. This event in Szekesfehervar, however, shows the duality of Grosz. He did not agree with my statement, he rejected it. I have not disclosed all of the episodes, and I do not want to resort here to pointing my finger at anyone, but I suspect that beforehand the party organizations were stirred up against me. Then, when it appeared that the effect of this was nearly unpredictable, he also joined ranks with the suppressors. [passage omitted]

[Forro] Is it now open knowledge that you have ended up in a situation in which you can make a decision according to your will? As you say, in the past the staunchly orthodox communists called you right-wing, within the Hungary Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. Many people said that the party ought to be freed from you, and already at that time you, properly speaking, could have made your own party.

[Pozsgay] I have not denied that I was free in the past, too—there was this freedom, although restricted, and I availed myself of it precisely within the frameworks of the accepted organization. Furthermore, when the MSZP was formed, I tried to make use of this in building it.

Let us not forget, however, that since the elections in the spring, and especially since the formation of the freely elected parliament, the politicians' freedom has also developed in a different way. I do not like to use fancy words, but through this step of mine I would have liked, in a certain sense, to show an example that today other kinds of decisions are also possible, and such decisions must not be implemented within purely moralizing frameworks, because in that case there will be no political movement—if it is forbidden to change opinion, if it is forbidden, in the wake of changes of opinion to reach new decisions. I also wanted to oppose this prohibition.

[Forro] Was there such a prohibition in the past? The question is why did you not leave?

[Pozsgay] I was prohibited from leaving unexpectedly, and turning against those with whom I had carried through the dismantling of the party-state. There were some who reached this conclusion earlier, but my aim was to try it out.

[Forro] Of course, some people seek personal motivations, some seek the reasons in your rather great ambitions. After Kadar—I am thinking not of the old Kadar, but of the charismatic Kadar who was in the forefront—you were the person within the MSZMP who could have played the role of charismatic leader, and you were deprived of this opportunity. I have heard from party leaders that throughout, you (?sought) the opportunity to be the number-one leader, then you had ambitions of being president of Republic, and in the final analysis you were never able to free yourself from the position of second or third person. In connection with your most recent decision, a diplomat said that since Jozsef Antall came to the conclusion that a national salvation government is necessary, Pozsgay could still end up in the vanguard, and that this step could only be traced back to personal ambitions. I imagine that you have faced this accusation for years.

[Pozsgay] Yes, for years, precisely because I have not displayed the conventional conduct. The attitude of being in a flock, of being a sheep, was always alien to me. I also had to bear the consequences of bad appearances. I also know that somehow the bad appearances sometimes are so strong that one's personal confessions cannot break through the shackles of these, they cannot tear the shackles of these off oneself. Nevertheless, this did not restrict me in doing what I did, not out of personal ambition. For example, I can tell you that the idea of my being candidate for president of Republic, on behalf of the MSZMP, and then the MSZP, did not come from me at all. There was political speculation regarding this, but this speculation was alien to me; however, I liked the task. I took part in this not in a hypocritical or pharisaical manner, but out of conviction. [passage omitted]

[Forro] Do you not feel that your personal capital has dissipated? [passage omitted] On the Hungarian popularity list you always were at the top, your index was about 76-79 percent. Here we are now when Imre Pozsgay is one of the 300-odd parliamentary deputies.

[Pozsgay] [passage omitted] I feel that my popularity has decreased largely because the people have identified me with the image my rivals have spread about me. This occasionally happens to politicians. There was not enough publicity for me to tackle this successfully. As a consequence—this was shown by the election results—a good number of points were whittled away from my political capital, but not an inch from my honor. Thus, I believe that moral political capital can be rebuilt on the basis of honorable politicizing. [passage omittehd]

[Forro] What is the explanation that you began alone, then masses stood behind you, and you again are alone? You appear to have moved away from both the intelligentsia and the people.

[Pozsgay] I believe that it is a more complex relationship. It is true this has happened; I do not cast doubt on the facts. Furthermore, it is surely related to my character. I again need some privacy—if I can say this—for the formation of a politician who thinks things through and then takes initiatives on the basis of the principles about which I spoke in my letter [to the MSZP]. At the same time, regarding the intelligentsia and public attention, I am not bitter because I see how rapidly these factors change in Hungarian political life; and.I do not intend, through this, to underestimate the people or the intelligentsia. On the contrary, I am saying that the people are extremely sensitive if they are cheated, if they are misled, and if they give maximum support to a political force and then are disappointed. I do not identify public opinion with the people. Public opinion is everyday thinking which immediately (?becomes) political fact. The people eventually act according to their interests, in a longer process, and I should like to join this longer process, also accepting this shorter-term solitude.

[Forro] I have been listening to you for some time and I am struck by something: What you say lacks self-criticism. I feel that you are disappointed in the party, you are disappointed in the community of electors, but you are not disappointed whatsoever in yourself. [passage omitted]

[Pozsgay] I must say something regarding self-criticism. So far in the conversation, I have not been so modest as to say self-critical things. This is because I have been criticized enough in the past year. There were regular occasions at which organizations, institutions, and people did this to me; they were not slow in making me self-aware. Nor can there be a lack of self-criticism or a lack of sufficient self-knowledge in the life of a politician, or—if I may use such an ambitious word—a statesman. Among these is a certain lack of foresight; this was a grave burden especially last year. From this point of view, I accept that in spite of all the information, perhaps it would have been possible to predict from the events what would happen in Eastern Europe; and it would have been more useful for the country if the dismantling of the state-party, let us say, had happened in April of last year and not in October.

I did not foresee what would happen; all I saw was what I would like to happen. Excuse me, I was in West Berlin, for the first time officially as an Eastern European politician, in May. I said that this wall must come down, that it was anti-human, it was inhumane, and that it was the disgrace of Europe. At the time, Honecker's press attacked me; I do not have to describe in what manner. I had to decide amidst such conditions.

Thinking back, it was a mistake to enter the four-member party presidium in July. It was a worse compromise that what I imagined. Allow me to say, however, that I made another attempt beforehand, and not in my own interest whatsoever. I called on Karoly Grosz to resign; this was the one thing he could do for the country's benefit. This happened in private, but he admitted this at the Central Committee session, so I can say that this is how it happened. These were poor compromises, and there undoubtedly was an element of naivete, when I sat down at the negotiating table on behalf of the very discredited MSZMP and the worst reactions came precisely from the MSZMP. [passage omitted] Thus, it is right and necessary for me to be self-critical; this is part of being self-aware. I repeat, however: I was beaten in the meantime with a truncheon, and the issue was being beaten into me. [passage omitted]

[Forro] You have left the MSZP. It can be sensed from the letter that you nonetheless have intentions and specific objectives.

[Pozsgay] Yes. My wins can obviously be sketched out, but for the most part attention is drawn to my losses. Why did I lose as minister of culture, as minister of education? Because of my opposition. It was that first incident when I had the biggest personal clash, with Kadar. [passage omitted] I lost because I was victorious over something; I was victorious over a kind of resistance which until then had appeared unconquerable.

Things could be said in an oligarchic body which considered itself omnipotent. [passage omitted]

[Forro] Thus, according to the order of events, now is the time for another victory [as heard], another party, at the end of which you are to suffer personal defeat yet again?

[Pozsgay] I do not know this. I have gotten so far that I have finished the course that constituted the subtance of my struggle; I cannot continue on this course, but it is possible that the road will lead me on.

[Forro] In the letter [of resignation], however, it is said that you claim the lack of a national center. Names have already been circulated. It already has its jargon—in Siofok it was simply called (?MATESZ) [acronym of the possible movement], so please, spell it out: Is a new party actually in the making with the participation of Imre Pozsgay, Zoltan Biro, and others? [passage omitted]

[Pozsgay] Forming a party—I do not want to be secretive, but this sentence conveys a lot. It is simply that I need to know whether there is a real social need for it, or if it is just my need. It is possible that the two will not coincide for a long time; however, I do not believe that a politician has to politicize in a way that he can exchange all his tokens at the cash desk at the end of the game if he wins. [passage omitted]

[Forro] There was a meeting in Csilleberc with the participation of 40 intellectuals. We know very little about this. Did any sort of specific agreement emerge there which could outline a program?

[Pozsgay] I was not in Csilleberc and there was no such agreement. Because the press raised this in a particular connection, I myself also tried to make some inquiries. I think there were a lot of people there with whom I would sympathies, and there are people among them with whom I could even work together with pleasure; however, such a specific agreement and meeting have not taken place yet.

[Forro] So there is no connection between your quitting and the Csilleberc meeting?

[Pozsgay] No, I would have done it without the Csilleberc meeting anyway.

[Forro] Does the fact that Zoltan Biro left the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] Presidium in the meantime have anything to do with your step?

[Pozsgay] It is possible that there is a connection. I will meet with Zoltan Biro. We have not yet had time to discuss every detail and matter. However, neither of us kept it secret from the public. I believe it was in a NEPSZAVA interview that we said we considered ourselves comrades and we will be comrades in the future, too. If Zoltan Biro has the freedom to formulate a different kind of politicizing, I believe that our place is together.

[Forro] During the MSZP Congress on the weekend many people were speculating about how many will go with you from the MSZP, especially now that Zoltan Biro has left. If this speculation becomes clearer, it may even give us the outline and structure of a new center party.

[Pozsgay] Yes, this is possible, but this is what ought to be known: These are sociological questions and not a matter of desires.

[Forro] Precisely on the basis of that 10-15 years, and realizing the developed situation clearly, on the whole, you know what the next step is, do you not?

[Pozsgay] Roughly, yes. I did not make a secret of my relationship with Zoltan Biro, for example, that is, that we have very good, friendly cooperation. Thus, forming such an organization or movement is not alien to either of us, or the participation in it. I am only cautious, as to what the reaction will be.

[Forro] You have already said this in your letter, when you said the developed party system could not win over a large part of the population of Hungary, which is getting into deep crisis. Thus, you are counting on this strata, or you would want to be the party of this strata.

[Pozsgay] Yes, precisely. This is not a secret either. The question is whether they will follow us or not. The question of a program is behavior.

Who would deny that this sociological fact exists? More than 60 percent of the electorate was unwilling to state their opinion at the local government elections, and I could also say that the aversion to the election and to the parties lead to the development of a behavior which can have bad effects on democracy.

New parties are not needed here and now so much, but rather movements and mutual thinking that is able to rise above party political views. [passage omitted]

[Forro] What would be the central element of this movement? [passage omitted]

[Pozsgay] The central element, in this respect, is the nation; however, not in the narrow-minded form, based on the principle of elimination, which was indicated by the national programs biased to the right, on the contrary. It is also a question of freedom and association to choose a nation. The other thing resulting from this should not be the (?elimination), but the idea that we should not become the servants of Europe, who accumulate labor force reserves in Eastern Europe, but become characteristic figures. The presence with national frameworks is necessary in the international capital movement and in the international political movement.

We do not deny that an enormous European integration process and international scope of movement containing great in the making. The step we can take toward this leads through Central Europe, but it is not the same,

whether we will enter this Europe through the side entrance or the main entrance. [passage omitted]

Thus, from this view, we also adopt the left-wing or so-called socialist values and consider matters from this angle, too. At the same time, regarding the system of liberal ideology, we are to state the experience, that this sort of enslavement of the individual, temporarily successful under the rein of workers' movement as an experiment, has failed. [passage omitted]

[Forro] You said several times in this conversation that many of your actions preceded your era. Now, however, when the parties cover society, is it not a delayed action on your part?

[Pozsgay] It is possible that we are a phase late; however, events will tell this and not me.

It is uncertain that this will be delayed action. It is possible that Hungary is more advanced at political divisioning in the Western European sense than Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, or Bulgaria. Because it is more advanced, however, she holds the knowledge that shows that certain methods and means can not be applied here, in Eastern Europe.

For example, I cannot accept that the past 40 years can be considered as nothing, even if it was full of suffering and distorted human behavior resulting from dictatorship. Something happened here, and the analysis of this something has to be rethought again. [passage omitted]

The revolutions have finished, and these revolutions brought comfortless results, and people do not want to remain comfortless.

[Forro] According to [name indistinct] at the time, many people in the West would have liked the man who started the reforms to stay on the stage of politics. If this time you do not find mass support for this party, although you will remain in parliament as a deputy, you will not be counted on the stage of politics.

[Pozsgay] I also considered this; this is the risk. This risk is not small. Having also dealt with this I concluded that I had no choice but to decide as I have done.

Horn Qualifies Statement on General Elections

AU1211132590 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 6 Nov 90 p 3

[Interview with MSZP (Hungarian Socialist Workers Party) Chairman Gyula Horn by unidentified correspondent in Parliament on 5 November: "Why Should We Apologize?"; first paragraph is MAGYAR NEMZET introduction]

[Text] Many people were surprised by Gyula Horn's statement according to which it is not certain that we will have to wait four years until the next general elections.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] On what did you base this statement?

[Horn] To quote myself precisely, I said that one cannot exclude the possibility that the general elections will be held in four years. In my opinion, this is not a cardinal issue.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Do you see any signs that general elections could be held ahead of schedule?

[Horn] The future of this government coalition is a big question. I am sure that no parliamentary party is interested in holding general elections soon. I am convinced that this government should consistently carry out the change in our regime and manage our economic crisis, and this is also important from the government viewpoint. I started from the premises formulated by prime Minister Jozsef Antall on 30 October—namely, his request for a two-year period of grace for the government, something much more realistic than the 100 days announced in May. The aforementioned two years are the minimum required to carry out the basic changes and make the decisions that are essential for shifting to a market economy.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Various reports over the weekend said that the Hungarian Social Democratic Party was waiting for your apology and for their confiscated property.

[Horn] First, I do not know why we should apologize. It is not quite clear why they demand this from the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], instead of the old leadership. As for the financial matters, all I can say is that we fully accounted for our property in a thoroughly legal way with the competent state bodies. We do not owe anything to the Social Democratic Party, and we have nothing to do with their demands, so they should turn to the competent state bodies, primarily to the State Property Agency.

FKgP Chairman on Internal Party Disputes

AU1211095390 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 6 Nov 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Minister of Agriculture Jozsef Ferenc Nagy, chairman of the Independent Smallholders' Party (FKgP), by Zsuzsa Szep; place and date not given: "Does the Chairman Suspect a Coup?"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] Jozsef Ferenc Nagy, chairman of the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP], has called back Istvan Bakos, the suspended managing deputy chairman of the party, and the FKgP's deputy general secretary representative who had resigned. The statement made by Jozsef Ferenc Nagy contradicts the press statement published by Gyula Kiss, general secretary of the FKgP and minister without portfolio. Furthermore, the deputy general secretary who resigned addressed a letter to Nagy, telling him to be careful because some party leaders are working behind the scenes on his removal. We asked Nagy about internal party disputes.

[Szep] In the early afternoon of Friday 2 November, there was nobody in the party headquarters except yourself. According to some rumors, when the deputy chairmen heard that you were entering your office, the party leaders left the headquarters shortly after their lunch break. Is it true that they are mounting a coup against you?

[Nagy] I was also surprised not to find anyone in the headquarters before 1500. I would have enough things to do and to discuss; however, I would not draw far-fetched conclusions from this incident.

[Szep] The deputy general secretary representative who resigned went farther than that: He warned you in an open letter about internal party squabbles.

[Nagy] We will thoroughly examine every sentence of that letter. We will also include our provincial representatives in this enquiry.

[Szep] The general secretary of the FKgP, Gyula Kiss, made derogatory remarks about Istvan Bakos, the managing deputy chairman who was sent on compulsory leave. Despite all this, you have called back Istvan Bakos.

[Nagy] I am not yet familiar with the minutes of the political committee, but according to my information, the scandal erupted because of a technical failure. In fact, I had charged Istvan Bakos with the chairing of the meeting, because it is always the managing deputy chairman, not the general secretary, who stands in for the absent chairman. The meeting was then chaired by Gyula Kiss; Bakos was offended by this, and during the course of the committee meeting, he made comments about Kiss. Upon this, Bakos was sent on leave, and he was told that if he is nervous, he should go for a rest. In relation to this incident, Gyula Kiss stated that the party does not yet have a new constitution or new statutes, but both these documents were ready by that time. That is why I did not understand the postponement of our general assembly meeting.

[Szep] When is there going to be a general assembly?

[Nagy] It will be held at the beginning of December, upon the request of the prime minister. The government will present the draft agricultural law to Parliament in November, and Jozsef Antall believes that we should listen to the opinion of the countryside after the legislative procedure, and that we should draw the appropriate consequences from these opinions.

[Szep] Why has Geza Zsiros [FKgP representative] submitted his own motion on the land reform?

[Nagy] Representatives are allowed to act at their own discretion. It must be recognized, however, that there are both written and unwritten rules within the coalition. Perhaps Geza Zsiros does not abide by these rules because he wants to keep the agricultural issue on the agenda.

[Szep] Does he not have the ministerial post in mind?

[Nagy] That is a delicate issue. I would rather not make any comments on this, if you do not mind.

[Szep] Who is planning to be chairman of the FKgP? According to Arpad Gyorgyi, this position is in danger.

[Nagy] I do not know. Perhaps my working methods are inadequate; however, I can state something quite clearly: I was elected by the majority, so I can only be made to step down by the delegates at our general assembly.

[Szep] There have been other contradictory statements on personal issues. People are allegedly trying to remove your followers; or rather, a group of 10 people have been scheming against your supporter, Istvan Bakos, in Gyula Kiss's ministerial office. All this leads us to believe that your greatest rival is, in fact, Gyula Kiss, the general secretary of the FKgP.

[Nagy] I have heard of "the 10," but I have nothing to say about them. In any case, I think that the relationship that has developed between Kiss and myself is strange. We live in the same house, so if he had any problems, he could knock on my door at any time. Gyula Kiss's position is firm, he will remain a minister, even if he is no longer general secretary. Indeed, the general secretary should be the driving force of the party. Unfortunately, Kiss is kept very busy by his ministerial duties, so he cannot spend enough time on his duties as FKgP general secretary. Despite the contradictions, I do not see Kiss as a rival, and I have nothing negative to say about him.

[Szep] So there is no fight for power within the FKgP?

[Nagy] Perhaps many people are motivated by their own career, but that is wrong. Unfortunately, I find a discrepancy between the actions and the statements of my aids and deputies. Similar concerns are also encountered in other parties, but we are not yet mature politicians, so we are unable to conceal internal tensions in a clever way. The people who leaked compromising news about us evidently acted in their own interest.

No Present Food Shortage; Problems Expected

AU1211110990 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 7 Nov 90 p 4

[Interview with Gabor Horvath, secretary of the National Association of Agricultural Cooperative Members and Producers, by Vera Lendvai; place and date not given: "There Is No Food Shortage, but It Can Happen—Suicidal Agricultural Policy"; first two paragraphs are NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Excerpts] Some people say that it is a suicidal policy to reduce the subsidies to agricultural producers to such an extent. Others speak of an eroded sector. What will happen to the supply of agricultural goods to towns, and what will happen to the population of the villages? The prestige of Hungarian foodstuffs continues to be the best among our export products. How long will this last? These are vital questions.

We asked Gabor Horvath about these issues.

[Lendvai] In recent months and days, your organization has repeatedly urged the government to solve the agricultural problem and conduct a realistic evaluation of the drought damage, and you also demanded a production balance. Essentially, do you regard the current agricultural policy as suicidal?

[Horvath] Unfortunately, we do not agree with the government's agricultural policy. We fear that our new government has not yet had time to learn the real situation of the Hungarian agricultural sector. We worked out our agricultural program, and we even offered several solutions to the government. The current season is the most important one for the peasants: They have to plant and renew the various plantations, and the poultry should now be taken to roost. At the same time, I would like you to write down the following: There is no general food shortage in Hungary, nor will there be any such shortage in the foreseeable future. Serious disturbances, however, might emerge in some branches.

[Lendvai] What do you mean?

[Horvath] Agricultural production needs capital, but there is none. The interest rates on various loans are so high that the producers are unable to invest. The food processing sector is also unable to pay in advance for the value of their goods. Thus, the processing sector only signs contracts for half their capacity of poultry production, or not even that much. As a result, a shortage could emerge within months. [passage omitted]

[Lendvai] The general concept is that the agricultural sector's production is expensive.

[Horvath] This is incorrect. It is clear, however, that the current structure should be changed. Production can be made cheaper, and private ventures are also essential. [passage omitted]

[Lendvai] What is the situation today, in November?

[Horvath] The production balance has been totally upset; however, the agricultural sector still succeeds in accumulating a profit of 1.6-1.7 billion [currency not specified], but at what cost? In the past few years, the agricultural sector accounted for an average of four to five percent manpower surplus. This process will now accelerate, and it might reach as much as eight percent.

[Lendvai] Does that mean that the capacity of villages to retain their population will also be upset?

[Horvath] Yes. We should, therefore, seek urgent solutions, for example, for the weak areas. Just like Europe as a whole, we have also had experiences in the past in which, in such cases, the peasants left for the cities. This is a dangerous trend, particularly in our current economic situation. Only a European-style handling of the agricultural sector will help. We are partners in working out such a program.

'Historic' Border Treaty With FRG Signed 14 Nov

Genscher Arrives To Sign Treaty

LD1411093290 Hamburg DPA in German 0902 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Federal Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher arrived in Warsaw this morning for the signing of the German-Polish border treaty. At noon he and Polish Foreign Minister Kryzsztof Skubiszewski will sign the treaty, which finally confirms Poland's western border along the Oder [Odra] and Neisse [Nysa] Rivers. In a radio interview Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki said this is an "historic event". From the Polish point of view the signing of the treaty ends a chapter of postwar history between the two countries and clears the way for the future.

In Warsaw Genscher will also meet, besides Skubiszewski and Prime Minister Mazowiecki, Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz, the architect of Poland's economic reform; Lech Walesa, the chairman of the Solidarity union; and representatives of the German minority.

Spokeswoman Comments on Event

LD1211203890 Warsaw PAP in English 1758 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 12—In connection with the visit of German Foreign Affairs Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher to Poland on November 14 to sign a Polish-German border treaty, PAP asked government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska to comment on the subject: (excerpts)

"I think that this is a historic event, an event which wraps up a certain period in the postwar relations between Poland and Germany.

"The negotiation of the treaty and bringing about its signing, is a tremendous success of both Prime Minister Mazowiecki and Minister Skubiszewki and their German policy as well as Minister Genscher and Chancellor Kohl who declared many a time that relations with Poland have immense importance for the unification of Germany and that without good cooperation betwen Poland and Germany it was difficult to imagine Europe's unification.

"Both sides think that the signing of the treaty creates such a situation that only a finally confirmed border can become a border which unites and not divides an open border. The Polish-German [border] will literally become such quite soon because during the latest meeting between Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Chancellor Helmut Kohl, both statesmen expressed a hope that the lifting of visa requirements for Poles travelling to Germany would take place still before Christmas."

Leaders Sign Treaty in Warsaw

LD1411113490 Hamburg DPA in German 1121 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his Polish counterpart Krzystof Skubiszewski signed the Treaty on the Confirmation of the German-Polish Border in Warsaw today. [passage omitted]

Mazowiecki Discusses Talks With FRG's Kohl

LD1311191790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki spoke about the results of his recent talks with Chancellor Helmut Kohl early in today's meeting of the Council of Ministers. During a break, journalists asked the prime minister about the concessions he had to make and the significance of tomorrow's visit of German Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher to Warsaw.

[Begin Mazowiecki recording] Regarding the first issue, during the visit work on the two treaties and the signing moved at a fast pace. The signing of the first treaty, which had already been agreed upon, will take place tomorrow. Regarding the question of the drawing up of the second treaty—that great treaty of cooperation, as Chancellor Kohl called it—however, the work is to be concluded by the end of January. If you are asking about concessions, I can say that we met each other half-way and we agreed that both treaties would be ratified together, which should happen in February. Chancellor Kohl agreed to the treaties being successively signed.

Regarding the second question, that is, the arrival tomorrow of Minister Genscher, who next to Chancellor Kohl is certainly one of the architects of these new and good relations transforming the future of both our nations, I think Minister Genscher's arrival tomorrow and our signing of the treaty are very important. Apart from the treaties, our discussions in Frankfurt centered on the issue of abolishing visas. I am convinced this will happen at Christmas. [end recording]

Interior Ministry Gives News Briefing on Refugees

AU1211140190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Ewa Szemplinska report: "Will They Come or Not?"]

[Text] A news conference at the Ministry of Internal Affairs on Tuesday was dominated by the subject of refugees from beyond the eastern border. "Right now," said Interior Minister Krzysztof Kozlowski, "Poland is not experiencing this problem acutely. We have about 800 registered refugees from various countries, including Albania, Romania, and the USSR, all of whom have been given accommodation. There is also a large group of refugees from African and Asian countries who were deported from Sweden.

"We do not know, however, how many Romanians and Russians are staying in Poland illegally, staying in various parts of the country and reporting to the Polish Red Cross or police only when they are on the verge of exhaustion. Although the authorities are having problems with the uninvited guests—the problems include the cost of maintaining them, because only 10 billion zlotys has been allocated for this purpose out of the state budget for November, apart from which there are cases of aggression, muggings, and destruction of accommodation facilities—most of these people treat Poland as a 'transit' country and hope to obtain visas to go to the West.

"The real danger for us is a larger wave of refugees from the USSR or other countries, escaping from hunger or strife. Scandinavian politicians have made a gloomy forecast in this regard. They claim that a wave of millions of refugees may hit the Scandinavian countries plus countries like Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. It might not be possible to 'force' these people to leave by the Western border, and may be necessary to keep them here under tight control. That is why Austria has reinforced its borders with troops.

"The Council of Ministers has set up a Refugee Office, which is currently being organized by Colonel Zbigniew Skoczylas of the Red Berets, who has been appointed the interior minister's plenipotentiary for refugee affairs. The Refugee Office will collaborate with an interministerial commission, but also with the Army because, as we know, our good-neighborly, eastern border was not one of the most heavily guarded borders in the world. Our neighbors looked after it for us well enough."

The situation of Hungary shows how the old order is changing. Reporting on his Hungarian visit, Minister Kozlowski spoke about the refugee problems in Hungary. The influx of refugees there, chiefly Hungarians from Romania and the Ukraine, is far greater than in Poland. The Hungarian authorities estimate the number of illegal entrants to be 100,000. "Another matter which will not escape us but which Hungary is already experiencing is the evacuation of Soviet forces," said Minister Kozlowski. "Hungary has issued a bill for the damage to the Hungarian environment, and Russia has issued another bill for the construction of airfields and other facilities on occupied territory. Poland will face another problem—not just the evacuation of the 50,000 Soviet troops already in Poland, but also the transit of Soviet forces from Germany in about 11,000 trains and 3,000 convoys.

"During my Hungarian visit we revoked the old Polish-Hungarian agreement on jointly keeping tabs on the opposition, instead of which we will conclude in the not too distant future an agreement on police cooperation, designed mainly to track down international gangs. Allegedly there are already Polish-Hungarian gangs in existence."

Other topics of the news conference included the sale of land to foreigners. Jerzy Zimowski, vice minister of internal affairs, announced that the ministry will "work out a policy" in this regard, but, unfortunately, said nothing about what this policy will be like. Further topics were the training of policemen and deployment of trained cadets; a protest action by policemen whereby they stopped cars to draw attention to their claim for essential pension privileges; and the dismantling of the bugging devices installed by previous administrations. This topic was discussed at length, even though bugging devices without any receivers are useless. Far less attention was devoted to the installation of essential police equipment in police stations. Minister Kozlowski proudly said that thanks to the austerity measures inside the Ministry, it will be possible to purchase modern equipment like fax machines and computers. The ministry will not object to gifts of these objects either.

Finally, the Interior Ministry spokesman said that three weeks ago, an Interior Ministry commission was appointed to investigate martial law documents. Some of these documents are missing, including the ones covering the most important months: November and December 1981. Nevertheless, on the basis of what there is, one can reconstruct martial law preparations, hidden behind such names as "Operation Hibiscus" or "Operation Pine," or even earlier operations like "Summer 80," when a team appointed by General Kowalczyk and commanded by Generals Ciaston and Bejm prepared various scenarios for using force against the striking shipyard workers, kidnapping Lech Walesa and, after concluding an agreement with the opposition, settling scores with it.

It was announced that more information about the contents of the martial law documents would be revealed at the next news conference, in other words the Colonel Kuklinski report is still unique. Nevertheless, the spokesman did provide one quotation from the documents: the view that the "internment" in Bialoleka merely "consolidated the unity of 'Solidarity' activists" instead of resocializing them. History has shown that this opinion was not incorrect.

Walesa To Unveil 'New Beginning' Platform

LD1211225190 Warsaw PAP in English 2223 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Gdansk, Nov. 12—"The New Beginning" is the title of an electoral programme to be announced by Lech Walesa. It includes assumptions of the internal, economic, foreign and social policies of the state and a vision of the presidential office which should be a moderator between people, the government and the parliament until free parliamentary elections are held.

In regard to the internal policy Walesa advocates, among other things, a complete squaring up with the communist rule, the pluralistic equality of all parties, broader powers for local self-government, a new administrative division of Poland, a strong army and efficient police.

In the economic policy Walesa wants fast privatization, easier inflow of foreign capital to Poland, protection of agriculture, and a new taxation system.

An active struggle against unemployment by means of forming new workplaces is, according to Walesa, the major task in the social policy.

Walesa's programme regards the annulment of the present political and military alliances of Poland the main goal of the foreign policy as they were imposed on Poland. It envisages closer cooperation and friendship with the FRG, the United States, Lithuania, Belorussia, the Ukraine, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and maintenance of good relations with the USSR and Russia.

The programme postulates reduction of the Polish foreign debts which should be considered a Western contribution to the struggle against communism.

It also provides for a possibly fast admission of Poland to the Council of Europe.

Walesa, Mazowiecki on 'Election Studio' Program

LD1211113990

[Editorial Report] Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 0625 GMT on 12 November broadcasts a 30-minute "Election Studio" program. The first speaker is Leszek Moczulski, whose theme is independence in connection with Poland's 11 November independence celebrations. Next to speak is Stanislaw Tyminski, who speaks about his economic program. Next Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz calls for a television debate to include all the presidential candidates. Lech Walesa then gives details of his economic program, Roman Bartoszcze answers questions on various nonspecific themes at an election rally, and Tadeusz Mazowiecki speaks about his attitude to the nomenklatura and to Lech Walesa.

During his allotted time, Lech Walesa says: "Dear ladies and gentlemen. We are celebrating our independence day, the anniversary of the rebuilding of our statehood in 1918." Turning to economic matters, Walesa says:

"My program is one of a new beginning. The key to getting Poland out of the crisis and initiating free-market reforms is the speediest-possible privatization of state enterprises. We need to decree the legal conditions, to mobilize real banks, and create the financial and credit means for a natural transfer of enterprises from direct state guardianship into the hands of the real shareholders and owners, both individual and collective. The privatization process must proceed according to various solutions. The free-market economy should also encompass agriculture, which should be freed from monopolistic structures of supply, procurement, and processing. We need to decree the elimination of these structures, and to stimulate the development of many private and collective enterprises for the servicing of agriculture. We should give state-controlled mills, brickworks, and other enterprises in town and countryside back to their rightful owners. Apart from this, we should temporarily subsidise the production of certain agricultural products, and introduce protection of Polish agriculture from cheap imports.

"The most important current aim of our foreign policy is the reduction of our country's debt. Efforts in this regard must be reinforced. This debt is a consequence of the crediting by Western states of insolvent communist governments of the Polish People's Republic. We should achieve, as a result of negotiations, an annulment of a considerable part of the debt, treating this as the West's contribution to the cost of our common victorious struggle with the communist system."

Following remarks by Bartoszcze, Mazowiecki's slot begins with unidentified members of an audience asking questions about the former ruling party and possible deals made before last year's elections, and whether Mazowiecki really is a democrat. Mazowiecki says:

"I believe the reproach that we did not draw conclusions from the disintegration of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] to be demagogic and untrue. First, Lech Walesa did not make this reproach at the time when the PZPR was disintegrating, but is doing so at the moment. Second, we did draw conclusions, since we accelerated reforms in various areas—self-government, the reform of the MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs], the reform of the MON [Ministry of National Defense]—well, it is being completed [?word indistinct] in all the important ministries. So we have drawn conclusions!"

Turning to the nomenklatura, Mazowiecki says:

"There were 2 million party members in this country. Why this was...[Mazowiecki changes thought] I do not want to go into this, I do not want to do so during this discussion, but there were 2 million party members plus their families, and we could not start a civil war, dividing such a substantial part of the nation. However, we should implement the valid sense of justice which I know exists within you and other people, ladies and gentlemen. Today, however, this above all is a problem of cutting all the various real links which often exist in various towns, communities and centers. The things which need to be done as regards the so-called nomenklatura can no longer, at the moment, be done by the government. They need to be done by self-governments, in enterprises by work councils, and so on. [applause]

"In the end, the disintegration of the PZPR is not just a problem of the formal disintegration of the party, but of this whole formation, and we have drawn conclusions in this regard. To level this reproach today is, I believe, a demagogic reproach, particularly as such a reproach was not made at the time. My year of office as prime minister has shown whether I am and will be a democrat. I have tried to act democratically, and will continue to try to do so, but, generally speaking, ladies and gentlemen, this is not what you are concerned about. What you probably want, ladies and gentlemen, is for me to answer Walesa in such a way as to sting him to the quick. [applause]

"[If I do it], then it is not my style, apart from which, ladies and gentlemen, I have worked with this man for 10 years. [applause]

"On top of which, I also believe that it would be bad if, as a result of this campaign, there were a destruction of authority and a destruction of mutual respect between people in Poland. That is why I try to be restrained. These are the reasons.

With this, the "Election Studio" program ends.

Michnik on Walesa Meeting With Arab Ambassadors

AU1211123790 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 5 Nov 90 p 11

[Adam Michnik article: "Questions for Lech Walesa"]

[Text] Lech Walesa's election campaign office has announced that its candidate will answer questions. I would like to put a few questions to him in the columns of this paper. First, a quotation:

"Syrian ambassador: We would like to express our recognition for the changes that are taking place in Poland. We met to discuss cooperation on 5 March. We will not return to that subject now. Let us talk about Israel's privileged position in the Polish media like friends. I very much welcome your statement on opening up the media to ambassadors from Arab states. We will see what happens.

"Lech Walesa: It should not just apply to ambassadors. Why should you not have a special channel? We have five vacant channels, and we want to see you and your culture.

"Syrian ambassador: With whom should we discuss this?

"Lech Walesa: Talk to Balcerowicz and Drawicz, the chairmen of the Radio and Television Committee. If they do not give you a channel, I will have a word with them. You have an interesting culture and civilization, and Poles should get to know it. I can give you a channel. The Jews will have one; they are in the media not because they have special privileges, but because they are making an effort themselves.

"I would be delighted to take part in opening your channel, if that is what you decide. Everything has become possible in Poland. At the moment we only have one and half channels, and we want to have 15 channels before the end of the year. Do something about it.

"Syrian ambassador: Thank you. The Polish ambassador has access to all our channels and press. We wanted it to be reciprocal, but our efforts have not met with any success.

"Lech Walesa: That is impossible. You have every right to that, but you should do something about setting up a channel. It will be a commercial operation. Do it yourselves. Why should someone else do it for you?

"Syrian ambassador: I have noticed that you think like one of us. It is a pity that others do not think the same way. We have been speaking the same language, and I think that we have discussed everything that needed to be discussed."

That was a passage from a report on a meeting that Lech Walesa had with ambassadors representing Arab states, and it appeared in the publication AS-SADAKA, which is financed by the Libyan Embassy in Warsaw, in July 1990.

Now for some questions:

1. Is the account accurate or was it dreamt up by the ambassadors?

2. As president of the Republic of Poland, does Lech Walesa intend to distribute Polish television channels to foreign states?

3. "I can give you a channel. The Jews will have one; they are in the media not because they have special privileges, but because they are making an effort themselves"—How should one interpret that passage?

4. Distinguished candidate for the presidency, how does one go about requesting a special television channel?

Kisielewski Article Backs Walesa Candidacy

AU1211103290 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 7 Nov 90 p 11

[Stefan Kisielewski article: "Why Walesa?"]

[Text] I will be voting for Walesa as president. One of the people who finally convinced me that I should do that is Adam Michnik.

During the television program "Interpelacje," which went on for more than one hour, Michnik made no mention whatsoever of economic issues, apart from a general remark that everybody should be unanimous in supporting the government's "free market" program. That a leading politician from the government should have no views on the economy whatsoever might be considered worrying, but that he should appeal for complete unanimity on economic issues must provoke fundamental objections. In a free market economy there is no unanimity or any infallible dogmas that hold true once and for all.

There are numerous alternatives to the so-called Balcerowicz plan and the manner in which it is being implemented, both among economists and among diverse social groups, and that is the way it should be in a society that has been released from totalitarian pressure exercised by some ideological center. Wladyslaw Beinkowski, the outstanding specialist on social issues, once wrote that all totalitarian systems are the work of intellectuals, because it satisfies their dreams of "ordering" the world from above in accordance with a particular philosophy. The opposite of totalitarianism is the

free market, which operates from the grassroots upward, in which what reigns is changeability, pluralism regarding methods, ruthless competition, and frequently, irrational chance. All these calls from above for a bureaucratic order and unanimity must arouse fears of a return to totalitarianism run by intellectuals. This is because "totalitarianism has more than one name."

These considerations lead me to vote for Walesa, as someone who is not linked to any group in the bureaucratic center, who is not for multiplying the legislative scholasticism of a chance and one-sided Sejm, and finally is not tied to a "philosophy" that has been thought up by this or that group of theorists.

He is an empiricist, who is sensitive to social developments at the grassroots level as well as to shifts in public opinion and is prepared to change his views, friends, and methods. This is important, especially in a society that does not have a middle class, in which there is a several million-strong working class, which is doomed to unemployment, because of the bankruptcies that will occur in heavy industry (Silesia, which is polluting Europe, and what are already the fictitious mining "basins" of Walbrzych or Konin). Only Walesa, who is a worker, can succeed in explaining to these people that the working class "ethos" is obsolete, that it is necessary to break with the anachronistic formula of communist industrialization, and can show them how imperative it is to retrain and change their position in society.

An acceleration of this process of change will undoubtedly be difficult and will sometimes have very unfortunate consequences, and I think that only empiricism and Walesa's instinctive ability to sense the rhythm of change can meet this challenge, and not the center's theorist-intellectual style of operating, with its tendency to use the present parliament or the bureaucracy.

These are the reasons why I have decided to vote for Walesa as a president with real authority and not just a figurehead.

I realize what the risks are, and I realize that there is no alternative.

Ministers Interviewed on Serving Under Walesa

AU1211150790 Warsaw POLITIKA in Polish 10 Nov 90 p 3

[Barbara W. Olszewska report: "The Personality or the Program"]

[Text] At a meeting with the Union of the Inhabitants of Wielkopolska in Poznan on 19 October, Tadeusz Mazowiecki was asked whether he would remain prime minister if Lech Walesa won the elections and offered the post to him. He replied that one cannot expect the head of a government that has been subjected to such criticism during the election campaign to do so. A REUTER correspondent asked whether he would resign. I hope that I will not find myself in that situation, replied the prime minister.

We put forth a similar question—Do you see yourself remaining in your present post if Walesa becomes president?—to all the members of the current government with the exception of Leszek Balcerowicz, deputy prime minister and finance minister, who stated his position in an interview that appeared in last week's POLITIKA. He said that the basic question for him was whether it would be possible to continue with the economic program and that what prospects there would be for realizing his aims under a new political setup would become apparent over the next few weeks. A similar position is expressed by the eight ministers who were covered in our survey.

Bronislaw Kaminski (Polish Peasant Party), minister of environmental protection and natural resources, said: "I want to realize the radical ecological policy for free market conditions that was worked out last year in so far as that is reflected in the new government's program." Janusz Bylinski (independent), minister of agriculture and food industries, also does not make his readiness to head the ministry dependent on the person of the president, and his interest was focussed solely on agricultural issues. Ewaryst Waligorski (independent), minister of transportation and navigation, pointed out that in their day-to-day work the members of the Council of Ministers do not cooperate with the president, but with the prime minister and, therefore, he links his future "to be or not to be" to the person of the prime minister. A similar position was expressed by Communications Minister Jerzy Slezak (Democratic Party). He said: "If the new prime minister who is entrusted with the task of forming a new cabinet deems it appropriate to entrust me with the post of communications minister, then I will accept. I would like to continue with the telecommunications policy strategy that was recently initiated."

Jan Jankowski, deputy prime minister and minister in charge of the Office of Scientific and Technological Progress and Implementation, believed that our question was awkward, because, in his opinion, a member of the government is appointed to a post and does not himself choose a particular post. He stressed: "For me, the question of participation in the government does not depend on personality, but on programmatic factors. I identify myself with the Tadeusz Mazowiecki program and so that is the policy that I could continue."

The most resolute answer came from Aleksander Mackiewicz (Democratic Party), minister of domestic trade: "Yes, I am someone who finishes what he begins."

Three of the government ministers who we questioned do not see themselves remaining in their posts if Walesa is elected president. Jerzy Osiatynski (independent), minister in charge of the Office of Central Planning, said: "I do not want to assume responsibility for other people's decisions when I will not be able to influence those decisions."

Culture Minister Isabella Cywinska (independent): "I do not see myself in a government that is under the influence of Mr. Lech Walesa. As with the theater, the situation in the country is such that the people in the group responsible for realizing a undertaking have to understand each other perfectly. A year ago I accepted Mr. Mazowiecki's proposal, because I was sure that his calm and consistent approach provided an opportunity to work out a new philosophy for the arts. The many changes in Mr. Walesa's views do not make it possible to entertain similar hopes if he is in office. That is why I could not work together with Mr. Walesa."

Artur Balazs (independent), member of the Council of Ministers with ministerial rank, said: "I am Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki's man and I link my political future to the role that he will perform. Internal Affairs Minister Krzysztof Kozlowski (independent) gave the shortest answer: "I do not."

Our question was considered premature by Industry Minister Tadeusz Syryjczyk (independent), Jacek Ambroziak (independent), minister in charge of the Office of the Council of Ministers, and Aleksander Paszynski (independent), minister of land use management and housing construction, and Professor Witold Trzeciakowski (independent), member of the Council of Ministers with ministerial rank, said that they would not take part in our survey. Education Minister Henryk Samsonowicz (independent) told us to consult the statement made by Prime Minister Mazowiecki on this subject (we quoted it in the introduction). Justice Minister Aleksander Bentkowski replied: "I belong to the Polish Peasant Party, and anything that I will do in a new government will depend on my party."

The following did not take part in our survey for objective reasons: Jacek Kuron (independent), minister of labor and social policy, who was in the hospital; Marcin Swiecicki (independent), minister of foreign economic cooperation, Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, and Ownership Changes Minister Waldemar Kuszynski, who were abroad as members of a delegation; Rear Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk (independent), who was out on a firing range; and Andrzej Kosiniak-Kamysz (Polish Peasant Party), minister of health and social policy, who was unavailable.

It would appear that if Walesa wins the elections, the new cabinet could count on over one-quarter of the 16 ministers in the present government who took part in the survey.

Mazowiecki Campaigns in Szczecin, Greets Voters

AU1211131390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Janusz Kowalczyk report: "An Openness To Every Direction"]

[Text] Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki spent Sunday, 4 November, in Szczecin as part of his election campaign. At 1000 hours he met the mayors and local government officers of Szczecin Voivodship, and discussed the situation in the voivodship following the unification of Germany. The prime minister underlined the status of the local government authorities of Western Pomerania in contacts between Poland and Germany. "Only genuine contacts can erase the grudges and historical prejudice," said the presidential candidate. "A Poland situated between, on the one hand, the powerful, unified German state, and on the other hand the Soviet Union, out of which new sovereign states are emerging, may play an important role in the emerging European structure. Poland must convert its difficult geographical position in Europe, a Europe that is now shedding its borders, into a chance for openness to every direction, East and West."

Speaking about the bold task of overcoming the division of Europe into A and B, a rich Europe and a poor one, which he has set himself, T. Mazowiecki said: "That is a task for Polish foreign policy for the next 10 years." He also mentioned his meeting with Chancellor Kohl on 8 November. "A treaty on Polish-German cooperation is currently being drafted, and it should be signed after the German elections. However, we want the border treaty to be initialed as soon as possible. You are very well aware of the difficulties with Polish-German contacts. I encourage openness. Let us learn to live, cooperate, and coexist without complexes and prejudice. Only then will we be able to defend our common interests."

In the afternoon the prime minister attended mass, after which he held a meeting with young people in the "Kosmos" cinema. He told them about the changes in schools. Speaking about higher education, he told them Poland must make a great effort to increase the number of students, and that Poland has the smallest number of students from poor families in Europe. Speaking about the Army, he said that a lot had changed in the Ministry of National Defense. "I hope the repressive nature of military service has eased. Further structural alterations are needed." Speaking about working life, he said that Poland is going through a difficult period of economic restructuring. "The level of employment used to be too high, and that was one of the reasons for the poor productivity of our enterprises. We must, however, enable the unemployed to gain new qualifications." Speaking about the housing problem, he said: "We have been constrained by the state budget this year. We must work out a system of credits available to young people."

The young people asked the prime minister questions. The first question was about abortions. "It is no secret to anyone that I am a Catholic and believe that human life should be protected from conception until death. An antiabortion law is a subject of discussion, and parliament should deal with that."

Another question from the young people was on the subject of religion in schools. Speaking about the introduction of religion as an optional subject in schools, Mazowiecki said:

"It is no secret that a joint government-Episcopate commission has been discussing this topic."

After this meeting with young people, the prime minister went to the Adolf Warski Shipyard and laid a wreath below the memorial tablet to murdered workers. Later he met doctors at a clinic in Unia Lubelska Street, and in the evening attended a gala dinner with sailors, fishermen, and their families.

OPZZ Supports Cimoszewicz, Mazowiecki in Elections

LD1211143190 Warsaw PAP in English 1256 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 12—In presidential elections the members of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) will support Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz and Tadeusz Mazowiecki, two candidates representing political options acceptable for them, Chairman of the OPZZ Electoral Centre Rajmund Moric said at a press conference today.

Cimoszewicz's idea of welfare state is close to us. As regards Mazowiecki, he comes out in favour of a parliamentary state, social peace, and wants to pursue a rational foreign policy, Moric said.

He appealed to all members of unions affiliated with the OPZZ to participate in elections.

SDRP Criticizes Nationalization of PZPR Assets

AU1211111690 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Nov 90 p 2

[Janusz R. Kowalczyk report: "The SDRP Defends Itself Against the Law"]

[Text] The Sejm agenda for 8 November includes the second reading of a bill to transfer the assets of the former PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] to the state treasury. This deputies' bill will be presented by Deputy Andrzej Kern of the OKP [Citizens Parliamentary Club].

SDRP [Social Democratic Party of the Polish Republic] Chairman Aleksander Kwasniewski read a statement on behalf of the SDRP at an INTERPRESS news conference on 6 November. "The bill speaks of a takeover of former PZPR assets at a time when, following a decision by the Government Commission acting under the Sejm's authority, 95 percent of these assets are already in the hands of the state," reads the statement. "The bill strikes at the SDRP, which is in legal possession of PZPR resources transferred to it, resources paid for out of PZPR membership dues and from legitimate PZPR economic activity."

The SDRP believes that if the bill is passed, the SDRP's possibility of organized activity will be impeded and the publication of TRYBUNA will have to stop. The SDRP considers all of this to be a deliberate restriction on the freedom of expression and on the pluralism of opinion. The fact that this bill is being discussed during the election campaign is viewed by the SDRP as a breach of democratic custom and a deliberate attempt to ruin the election chances of the only left-wing candidate.

The Social Democrats also question the bill's legal aspect, which they claim is a violation of the fundamental principle whereby the "law is not retroactive," apart from which it violates the Polish Constitution and Poland's international obligations stemming from the Pact on Political and Civic Rights. According to the SDRP, the political intention behind the bill is an attempt to heap upon the entire left wing collective responsibility for the past.

"The proposed confiscation of the property of a legal political party is a threat to the development of democracy and to our country's image in the world. It is a tool of political struggle, therefore the SDRP considers it its duty to warn against a dangerous precedent," says the statement.

Commenting on the statement, SDRP Secretary General Leszek Miller said: "The PZPR's assets were transferred on the basis of the decisions reached by the government commission that was appointed on 23 January 1990 in order to establish the legal status of the assets of political parties and youth organizations and recover state property. The conclusions of this commission were confirmed by the Council of Ministers in a resolution adopted on 3 April. The state treasury has taken over 1,869 PZPR buildings with a total space of over 490,000 square meters. Some 150 of these buildings were built entirely out of PZPR funds. What the state treasury has taken over constitutes about 95 percent of the PZPR's entire assets. The remaining five percent consists of 23 buildings, and these have been transferred to the SDRP on the basis of a decision reached by the same government resolution.

"There is no PZPR property left to be transferred," Miller continues, "for the Council of Ministers has legally divided it all into state property and SDRP property. What the legislators really want is to nationalize the SDRP's assets, because one cannot renationalize PZPR assets that have already been nationalized once by being transferred to the state treasury."

The value of the assets received by the SDRP is far less than the sum total of PZPR membership dues paid over many years. Not all the PZPR assets taken over by the state treasury have been allocated for social purposes. Many of them satisfy the needs of local "Solidarity" bodies, for example in Leszno, Legnica, Zlocieniec, Dzialdow, and Gdanbsk. In Hajnow, the former PZPR committee building has been turned into a Lech Walesa election office.

According to the SDRP leaders, the bill is also a vote of no confidence in the Mazowiecki government because it questions the decisions reached by the Government Commission and Council of Ministers. Above all it is a

direct blow to the left wing, and a punishment, as it were, for the reformist stream pursued by the PZPR, whose heir is the SDRP.

The intentions behind this bill are betrayed by the fact that it adopts 24 August 1989 as the date on which the PZPR's assets were transferred to the state treasury. That is the date on which Tadeusz Mazowiecki became prime minister. Thus, this date is to be celebrated as a day on which claims against PZPR property were settled at the same time.

Wieslaw Huszcza, member of the SDRP's Supreme Council and SDRP treasurer, also answered questions from journalists at the INTERPRESS news conference. "The SDRP is financed by economic activity," he said. "We do not receive funds from abroad. Cimoszewicz's campaign is funded by generous contributions from people. The average monthly income in the Supreme Council is 907,533 zlotys. The SDRP has its own travel agency, which looks after party recreation centers, and a hotel on Szara Street. Our agencies are prepared to finance the party and TRYBUNA, so it is odd that people want to nationalize the only left-wing paper that has achieved financial independence."

Aleksander Kwasniewski spoke about the election campaign: "It is good that the main political forces in Poland—the Center Accord, Citizens Movement-Democratic Action, the peasant movement, the Confederation for an Independent Poland, the emigre communities, and the left wing—have nominated their candidates, whereby people have a choice." Asked why he himself was not running, the SDRP leader replied: "We wanted a candidate capable of winning greater support from the left wing. The candidacy of Cimoszewicz, head of the Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Left, is close to our ideology. We have proved that we are open to cooperation with other left wing forces."

* Kaczynski on Center Accord Role, Government

91EP0044A Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 27 Oct 90 p 5

[Interview with Jaroslaw Kaczynski, adviser to Lech Walesa and editor of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, by FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU correspondent Edith Heller; place and date not given: "Five Ways to Privatization: The Center Politician, Jaroslaw Kaczynski on the Role of Center Accord"; first paragraph is FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU introduction]

[Text] Lech Walesa is their hero, and their motto is Acceleration. A word, which in recent months has enjoyed great success in Poland and, if nothing else, led to the presidential elections being moved up. Center Accord influenced this acceleration and now wants to utilize the momentum to make Walesa the head of state. Jaroslaw Kaczynski, editor in chief of the weekly, TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, which is closely associated with Walesa, is held to be the most important spokesman for the Accord and one of the candidate's advisers.

[Heller] Why have you destroyed the unity of the Solidarity camp?

[Kaczynski] The Center opposed the formation of a new monopolistic party. Even today there are attempts to restore the "leading role" in many voivodships, the only difference being that it is no longer the Communist Party but our own forces which are demanding this role. Despite indisputable differences—at that time one ruled with the whip, today we don't have that any more—it has destructive results for public life. Even if there were no political differences at all, we would have to do that.

[Heller] So a normal situation has been created because of the split?

[Kaczynski] Yes, though the unity could perhaps have lasted a little longer. The crucial factor was that the leftist part of our group quite obviously wanted to get out. It tried to do so with a characteristic, almost comical, tremendous self-confidence; but our group did not intend to let them go. Last fall when Lech Walesa's citizens' committee was to be reorganized with new people, not a single person from the Center was on the list.

[Heller] The Center didn't even exist then...

[Kaczynski] ...but the people did. I was there. It's just a cock-and-bull story that it wasn't until May that I appeared out of nowhere. My brother was there, Jacek Merkel, Lis, and many others from the narrow circle of leaders of Solidarity...

[Heller] Didn't you yourself play a large part in forming this government?

[Kaczynski] I got the task of forming the coalition. I did that; I also played a certain part in Mazowiecki's becoming prime minister.

[Heller] But then you yourself are to blame if you brought these "leftists" to power.

[Kaczynski] Mazowiecki's position was planned differently than it turned out later. Also, his competitors were Kuron and Geremek, and if I had to decide once more, I would once again urge Walesa to make Mazowiecki prime minister. But I no longer had any influence on the subsequent composition of the government.

[Heller] The formation of the Center in January could perhaps be regarded as the emerging of an old conflict.

[Kaczynski] The conflict is as old as Solidarity. These differences existed as early as in the Workers Defense Committee (KOR), to which I also belonged—although KOR is today unjustly held to be on the left. It was founded by two politicians on the extreme far right, who today are in the Christian National Union. The conflict in Solidarity was already clearly evident in the fall of 1981. Then it was covered up by martial law, of course, but it continued to last without interruption in various configurations of persons.

Nothing new has happened here, only the public was convinced that there was crystal-clear unity between these people, who in part deserve a lot of credit but were never accepted by everyone.

[Heller] The present government is conducting a rigorous economic reform program, which demands a great deal of sacrifice from the population. Lech Walesa is a union man and publicly supported the demands of unsatisfied farmers and railroad workers. If he comes to power, won't there be populist decisions, a shift toward the left?

[Kaczynski] All the groups that originated from Solidarity—both those on Mazowiecki's side and Walesa's supporters—support the present economic changes, among them also the finance minister's initiative, which is known as the Balcerowicz plan. Despite the way it looks, there are no differences of opinion here. Agriculture, which you mentioned, is a specific concern, for which the Balcerowicz plan requires certain corrections. But the government has already in principle come to terms with that. Here as well there are no significant differences; rhetoric and political tactics must be separated from the essence of the matter.

What is involved is something else. The Mazowiecki government represents a paternalistic policy, which resembles the literary-political current of Polish positivism in the 1870's and 1880's. At that time, after the November uprising at the time of the Polish partition, the positivists called for concentration on sharply defined tasks, such as in the economy. Today, the elites are to support the government and call on society to be patient, so that people concentrate on their little tasks, above all, and don't interfere in politics. The deactivation of the population which can be observed at this moment is to become the foundation for the transition through this low point. This is Mazowiecki's concept—a concept which is rarely brought out in public, but in the discussion by the top politicians in the primate's residence it was directly explained.

[Heller] And what do you suggest?

[Kaczynski] We are of the opinion that this concept is suicidal and will soon cause the transformation to collapse. On the one hand the danger threatens that this process will shortly lead to a revolution, because the population can't endure it any longer. People see that those who were in power before, even at a very low level, have meanwhile acquired property and that those who collaborated with this criminal system continue to live well. They arrive at the conviction that nothing has changed fundamentally. This is felt to be tremendously unfair—and it could ultimately lead to social unrest.

The second danger comes from the fact that this concept is based on absolutely no social change—the new economic order is to be built on the social base established by communism. This will not lead to a modern market economy, but to South American conditions; for this reason we talk about a "Latinization of Poland." Latin America has a market economy, to be sure, but it has been thoroughly infected by mafia-style developments, so that in practice is does not function and has no positive effects.

Basically, this danger has already become reality here: Both the state industry and the new capitalist sector are essentially controlled by a social mechanism which originated in communism.

[Heller] How do you recognize this mechanism?

[Kaczynski] It is a complex set of interpersonal relations which controls the economy. It begins on the lowest level, on the factory floor. If you think that in a Polish factory shop the division of labor depends on substantial criteria, you are totally wrong. What is decisive is the position of the people in this system, and since the 1980's that has usually been determined by political factors. Next, this mechanism includes the ties within the entire enterprise, as well as between the individual enterprises.

[Heller] Do I understand correctly, that you are also concerned about overcoming the old structures of thought?

[Kaczynski] I am not concerned about something that functions in the social awareness, but about a completely real system, which makes it possible for Enterprise X, for example, not to go bankrupt despite poor results, because the management continues to get credit because of its connections—even from other enterprises, for example, in kind. And this has the result that all of the measures to force people to be efficient fail. If I want to increase the circulation of my magazine, for example, I must, in order to improve the operation, employ someone from the old conditions, from the nomenklatura system. No one, not even the most energetic person from our Solidarity camp, gets anything done here. You simply need the right connections. And that is the way it looks not only on the level of this little enterprise, but on the level of a major enterprise and the entire country.

[Heller] Do you really believe that the distinction, "we down here and "they up there," still functions? I think the saleswoman in my store belongs to this mechanism as well. These "connections" are very widespread.

[Kaczynski] Yes, they are widespread. But the majority of the workers in the factories, simple office workers, and many others have never had any connections. There is no other way to destroy the connection system than through radical changes in personnel. These should, of course—and I would like to stress this emphatically—take place within the constitutional framework. This

personnel exchange will surely also bring actual advantages, because the Polish nomenklatura was in fact selected according to negative criteria; 80 percent of this personnel is unusable. There are a few capable, energetic people, who are knowledgeable in their fields, and they should remain, of course. It is not a matter of a political purge, but of doing away with all these "connections."

[Heller] Some persons in the present government cannot be blamed for having had "connections" before, and yet the Center Accord accuses them of incompetence.

[Kaczynski] When this government was formed, it was clear from the outset that errors had to be made. Anyone else would have made them in Mazowiecki's place as well. The fact that he is not in a position to separate himself from these people is one of his psychological characteristics, some sort of conservatism. When, for example, someone like Syryjczyk (the Industry Minister, E.H.) quite obviously is not suited for what he is doing, you simply have to replace him.

[Heller] Apparently you have a better opinion of Finance Minister Balcerowicz. From what has been said up to now, is it possible to conclude that Balcerowicz might remain in a Center Accord government?

[Kaczynski] I would go even further: Balcerowicz is being considered by our side as a candidate for the office of prime minister.

[Heller] I have heard that the other side has the same idea—he seems to be very popular.

[Kaczynski] I don't know what the other side is contemplating—but Balcerowicz has proved himself. To be sure, he has no political qualifications, only economic. But perhaps such an economic government would also be a good thing. In any event, he is quite seriously under consideration by us. It really is not a matter of opposing the Balcerowicz plan, but of implementing it economically and sociopolitically. The policy of acceleration can simply be understood as another social technique for reaching the goal of a normal market economy.

[Heller] So you believe that those currents, which today demonstrate an attitude of social demands, will not come to power with the Center Accord?

[Kaczynski] Most assuredly not. They will come to power when a policy such as the present one continues to operate—but that will be without Walesa, without the Center. Walesa is an honest and at the same time very determined adherent of economic reorganization. But, you know, he is of the opinion that this is a certain game to be played.

[Heller] But the game must also have a stake. Your opponents fear that the money collected so far by Balcerowicz will be distributed again.

[Kaczynski] No, there is no question of that. We promise absolutely nothing in the area of the economy, no pears on the willow tree, as one says in Poland. We only promise a certain clarification of the situation, more fairness, some things in the area of moral policy, but no more.

[Heller] How can that be implemented, apart from personnel changes?

[Kaczynski] The next thing is to stop the enrichment of the nomenklatura. The legal foundations for this have already been created. In the course of the last three years, following totally impenetrable criteria, they have acquired a large part of the national wealth for nothing or for very little. And today they must either pay the regular price or return the item. Furthermore, these corporations—this is what is mostly involved—are usually completely unsuccessful economically. A classic example is Factory X, which produces furniture, and the corporation sells this furniture at a higher price, so that the whole thing only takes place on paper—the corporation doesn't even move the furniture to another place.

[Heller] These are the so-called parasitic corporations. But we are still at the same spot. Don't you also have something that points ahead?

[Kaczynski] Abrupt privatization. That is the second point, without which the first would not make sense, for one pathological system would soon be replaced by another one. We want a five-way privatization. The first way is that of reprivatization, that is to say the return of property to its former owners, among them also the owners of the large enterprises. Center Accord is being financed by the association of former factory owners. The allegation that we are a populist enterprise is hence somewhat comical. From an economic point of view this matter is of less importance, however; what matters more is restoration of a moral order.

[Heller] What happens if the former owners were Germans?

[Kaczynski] For the Germans we see no possibility of rescinding the 1944 decree about expropriation—that would trigger a revolution in Poland and is therefore simply impossible. However, the situation is different for persons of German extraction, one of whom is the chairman of this association, for example, who before the war headed an enterprise with 10,000 employees in Lodz and who will also get it back if the operation succeeds.

[Heller] What about the Germans in Poland—will they be able to get back their former property, or are they also included in the 1944 decree?

[Kaczynski] I know that you don't like to hear this, but certain social realities must be taken into account. If the person involved lives in Poland and is a Polish citizen, he will of course get his property back. If the person involved resides in Germany, he will not get his property back.

The second way is the workers' stock ownership plan. This must be possible to a limited extent.

[Heller] A short time ago a project was turned down, which the workers' stock ownership plan wanted to expand beyond the previously planned framework.

[Kaczynski] Basically, we don't want to expand this area, but only emphasize the general permissibility of this option, because privatization must be acceptable to society. Furthermore, these efforts bring out the ambition of engineers and highly qualified workers to move up into the new middle class. This is a positive aspiration from a sociopolitical aspect. Until now, the new middle class in Poland originated according to sick criteria—from members of the former nomenklatura and from criminals. Today, when I meet these new "business people" and look at their hands, I see shameful traces of criminals' tattoos. These are not good qualifications for a group which is to head the economy and determine the life of society. I'm in favor of the formation of a new middle class on sounder principles.

The third way is the so-called citizens' stock ownership, meaning the issuing of shares and stock certificates. This is a technically complicated matter, in the framework of which there is also the possibility that a certain number of companies will be provided with Western managements. This way is important, because, on the one hand, it will be accepted by society, and, second, it will get the circulation of securities going and lead to the establishment of financial wealth—the stock certificates would be issued without fixed value, and the sales price would be regulated by the market. This will also give the better educated, foresighted groups in society a chance to build wealth.

The fourth way is the usual purchasing with Polish capital; it is not a lot, but there are a few billion dollars and it's better for this capital to be invested than—as is the case right now—to circulate as speculation capital.

The fifth way is foreign capital. We are completely open to that. As you know, this capital so far has not flowed into Poland to any major extent.

[Heller] In your opinion, should limits remain in effect for foreign companies, or will foreign investors also be able to take over a majority or 100 percent of Polish companies?

[Kaczynski] I believe that the remaining limitations should be lifted—as you know, a foreign majority is now only possible in exceptional cases, such as for the Polish-Swiss joint venture ABB in the former castle in my constituency of Elblag (Elbing). The conditions for foreign capital must be eased as much as possible—this is only an advantage for us. In the Netherlands most companies are in foreign hands, and the Dutch are doing very well.

[Heller] Why is the nation a value to you?

[Kaczynski] I think that the human being lives in a certain cultural environment, and that the national structure, determined by language, tradition, and acquired behavioral patterns, plays a major role in it, because it fulfills two fundamental human needs: on the one hand, that for identity, on the other, that for delimitation. I do not deny that I feel such a need and also accept it in others, that is to say even in Poland's neighbors, and I believe that certain values are also formed in this manner. In addition, a cultural unification would make Europe poorer. I don't like the American style of mass culture, which is also spreading among us. But, please, don't think that I'm advocating limiting it administratively—I just don't like it, and I think that with the low educational level of our society and the still largely agrarian tradition it is particularly destructive. I know that this cannot be changed, but at the same time I regret it. I think that a Europe with different nations is a richer, more interesting Europe, in which the individual in some sense can live more easily than in a culturally integrated Europe.

[Heller] What is the relationship between Center Accord and the Church?

[Kaczynski] We are a potential Christian-Democratic party. The majority of the Polish Christian Democrats belong to the Center. I personally favor this option being expanded to the major part of the Center which is composed of Solidarity groups. But many of them have a Christian-Democratic predisposition, although it is often not fully conscious and formulated. But there is also a strong liberal current in the Center, which differs in many respects.

Government Discusses Functioning of Armed Forces

LD1211212890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] The Council of Ministers has been in session under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The meeting is entirely devoted to defense policy and to the functioning of the Armed Forces. The Council of Ministers acquainted itself with reports presented by top Defense Ministry officials concerning structural and organizational changes in the Armed Forces from 1986-1990, and with the state of work on their future structure. The combat composition and technical equipment of our Army was discussed as was cadre policy.

Economic Official on Privatization, Stock Exchange

AU1311162790 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Nov 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Privatization Minister Waldemar Kuczynski by Malgorzata Pokojska and Leszek Spalinski; place and date not given: "Wall Street, Polish Style"]

[Excerpts] [ZYCIE WARSZAWY] The Privatization Act came into force on 1 August. Apart from talks, not much has happened since then.

[Kuczynski] Let us not exaggerate. Since 1 October, seven state enterprises have been converted to one-man companies held by the state treasury. This operation did not occur overnight; it had to be preceded by careful planning. Most of all it was necessary to obtain the agreement of all parties concerned, the workers, managements, and workers councils. Then various details had to be worked out, especially the statute, and, most difficult of all, the value of the assets had to be worked out. In this work we availed ourselves of the services of foreign firms of consultants; we still have too little Polish experience. We wanted to give paper genuine securities, not waste paper.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Why was "Exbud" in Kielce one of the first firms to be put on sale, and not "Ursus"?

[Kuczynski] The firms that were chosen were conspicuous for their profits, having sold their products at home and abroad.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] In other words, economic criteria were the determining factor.

[Kuczynski] Moral criteria as well. One cannot sell to the public the shares of enterprises that are on the verge of collapse. One cannot cheat people. [passage omitted]

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Why are not all enterprises being privatized? Is there a desire to protect the state's position as holder of most of the national wealth?

[Kuczynski] Not every enterprise is fit to be privatized, and not all of them want to be privatized. If shares are offered to the public at large these shares must be worth more than just the paper they are printed on. Most state firms will be privatized, but not all at once.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] When will the stock exchange be opened?

[Kuczynski] A bill on securities will be placed before the Sejm shortly. Organizational work is taking place at the same time. We are availing ourselves of the help of French experts, because we need a small but modern stock exchange like the one in Lyons. In the 1980's, the French stock exchange achieved major progress in automation and computerization. We envisage the opening of the Warsaw stock exchange on 1 June, Children's Day. [passage omitted]

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Will the Polish stock exchange have anything to do?

[Kuczynski] We foresee the privatization of 180 enterprises next year. I think that 15 percent of all state assets will be in private hands by the end of 1991. There is a chance that our economy will be half-privatized after three years.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] That is not very fast. Lech Walesa is already promising each Pole 100 million zlotys.

[Kuczynski] That was a most unfortunate thing to say. That figure is several times greater than all the state's assets put together. Fortunately, the statement was withdrawn. Has it, however, been forgotten?

Two-Minute Transport Strike Held in Five Cities

LD1311164490 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1500 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] One hundred transport enterprises are in debt to the tune of 188 million zlotys. Enterprises in five cities—Czestochowa, Krakow, Lodz, Poznan, and Kielce—find themselves in the worst position. They lack 83 billion zlotys. Voivodas do not have the money and neither does the government. A protest by municipal transport employees—a two-minute halt in traffic and horns blaring—took place today at noon exactly.

In Gdansk not all bus and trolley drivers took part in this action. Yesterday trade unionists there reactivated the strike committee which was suspended in April. They announced the formation tomorrow of a regional strike committee with the participation of activists from five voivodships of northern Poland.

Prime Minister Continues Official Visit to Japan

Meets Japan's House of Councillors Leaders

AU1011142990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1317 GMT 10 Nov 90

[Text] Tokyo ROMPRES, 10/11/1990—Romania's President Ion Iliescu had interview Saturday with Yoshihiko Tsuchiya, speaker, and Ippei Koyama, deputy speaker of the House of Councillors, Japan's upper Diet chamber, the ROMPRES envoy in Tokyo announced.

Thanking President Iliescu for having come to attend the enthronement ceremonies and for his visit at the seat of the House of Councillors, Yoshihiko Tsuchiya stated his surprise at the big changes in East Europe. He said he knew that democratic changes were under way in Romania after President Iliescu's sweeping victory in the May elections.

President Iliescu said his presence in Japan was the evidence of Romania's high regard for the Japanese people and of sincere wish to develop bilateral relations in various areas.

The talk covered the expansion and diversification of the bilateral cooperation. The hosts stated their readiness to engage in a mutually beneficial cooperation, in the economy more particularly,.

Both sides underscored their willingness to strengthen the cooperation between Romania and Japan in international life for the maintenance of peace, for constructive solutions to the big problems facing mankind.

The Romanian head of state invited the speaker of the House of Councillors of Japan's Diet to pay a visit to Romania on a parliamentary line.

Meets Head of Japan's Council for Science

AU1211111490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0932 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/11/1990—At his residence in the Nippon capital city Romania's President Ion Iliescu received on Sunday [11 November] Mr. Jino Kondo, chairman of the Council for Science, a body affiliated to the prime minister.

During the interview, special attention was paid to the experience Japan gained in fastly recovering its industry after the Second World War.

Mr. Ion Iliescu mentioned that Romania was ready to take over the Japanese experience in the domain answering the readiness of the Japanese side by sending Romanian experts to Japan, inviting Japanese experts to Romania and through a direct cooperation in modernizing industrial units.

Confers With South Korean Premier

AU1211111090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0947 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/11/1990—The expansion and diversification of the relations between Romania and the Republic of Korea [ROK] after diplomatic relations had been established between the two countries were the main theme of the interview Romania's President Ion Iliescu had in Tokyo with South Korean Premier Kang Yong-hun on Sunday [11 November].

The talk held on the occasion emphasized the spirit of collaboration animating both sides, their wish to expand their bilateral ties both politically and economically.

Statements by Iliescu, ROK Premier

AU1211201490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1203 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/11/1990—I am convinced that in [the] future we shall see with interest and shall approach all possible ways for the promotion of bilateral relations which are continuously developing, stated South Korean [ROK] Premier Kang Yong-hun, after his interview with President Ion Iliescu occasioned by their participation in the Tokyo ceremonies.

In his turn, Mr. Iliescu stated after the interview that there was a mutual interest for the multifarious development of bilateral relations. Mr. Iliescu also mentioned that the interview occasioned a discussion on the support the South Korean Government was ready to grant South Korean companies for economic exchanges, for cooperation in production as well as on the exchanges of experience on a state and managerial line, for the promotion of economic reforms.

Meets Syrian Vice President Khaddam

AU1211193290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1803 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Tokyo ROMPRES, 12/11/1990—While in Tokyo, President Ion Iliescu met 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, Syria's vice president, on Monday, 12 November.

The two statesmen gave special attention to the Gulf issue and the efforts made so far to find political solutions to this serious crisis with grave political and economic consequences.

Vice President Khaddam referred to the consultations going on between Damascus, Cairo and Riyadh with a view to laying out concrete measures apt to restore Kuwait's independence and sovereignty and avert the negative consequences a possible military conflict in the area would very likely have on all the states. Both sides agreed on the necessity of concerted efforts as long as the military build-up in the Gulf makes the recourse to arms impending.

The Romanian president expressed Romania's support for all diplomatic approaches undertaken by the states in the area as well as others, including the member states of the Security Council, in the attempt to defuse the Gulf crisis by political means.

The two political men also tackled the Romanian-Syrian cooperation.

It was mutually agreed that concrete cooperation projects including crude deliveries from Syria to Romania, should be examined in detail during a visit in the near future by the Romanian foreign minister to Syria.

Meets Nigerian Head of State

AU1211200290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1938 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Tokyo ROMPRES, 12/11/1990—Tuesday morning, 12 November, President Iliescu received, at his residence in Japan's capital, General Yakubu Gowon, the Nigerian head of state's representative attending the enthronement ceremonies in Tokyo. The two underlined, on the occasion, their mutual interest in extending the economic cooperation, especially in the fields of electric power, crude oil, wood processing as well as in reactuating the Romanian-Nigerian Joint Commission.

Holds Talks With Indonesia's Suharto

AU1211200790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1925 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/11/1990—The Indonesian people followed with great attention the developments in Romania of last December, showed Indonesian President Suharto during the talks conducted on Monday morning in Tokyo with Romanian President Ion Iliescu. The Indonesian head of state expressed his confidence that present-day Romania, now in full process of democratic transformation, would promote a policy relying upon the general principles of inter-state relations and would collaborate with the non-aligned and developing countries.

President Ion Iliescu presented the evolution in Romania, the efforts for the implementation of the Romanian people's irreversible option for a democratic society and an efficient market economy, pointing out that Romania promoted a policy of wide international opening, of development of the relations with all states.

The two heads of state declared for the expansion and diversification of the Romanian-Indonesian relations.

President Suharto pointed out that there was interest in his country in the building of electric power plants, of highways and the purchase of transport means, like trucks and buses. The wish was expressed that specialized Romanian companies, private included, participate in the materialization of like projects upon mutually advantageous bases.

The importance of reactuating the Romanian-Indonesian Joint Commission to strengthen the collaboration between the two countries was highlighted.

Ion Iliescu answered the Indonesian press' questions at the close of the talks.

We have singled out together with President Suharto themes of mutual interest in economy, in which we have decided to cooperate. Of course, there are many resources of cooperation in the political field as well.

Questioned whether Romania would become full member of the non-alignment, President Iliescu answered:

It could. But it depends a lot also on the general context and on the world climate generally. I might tell you that we fully agree already now with all states that are members of the non-aligned movement and cooperate with them very closely.

Referring to the viability of the understandings of the previously concluded understandings between the two countries, President Ion Iliescu answered that they naturally remained in force. "However, there are new conditions now. The changes taking place in Romania help the development of the relations between the two countries."

President Iliescu also expressed Romania's interest in buying oil from Indonesia.

Meets With Saudi Arabian Officials

AU1311210690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2032 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Tokyo (ROMPRES) 13/11/1990—President Ion Iliescu of Romania had an interview at the headquarters of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry of Japan with the relevant minister, Mr. Kabun Muto.

Romania's keen interest was highlighted in growing economic exchanges with Japan.

Referring to changes in this country and to the complex process of transition to the market economy, Mr. Iliescu underscored the special role of the support the Ministry of International Trade and Industry can grant to Romanian societies, commercial companies and autonomous units. In that context, he highlighted the importance of financial and crediting facilities to update Romania's industry, to improve the possibilities of credit-granting in yens, as happened in the case of other countries in Eastern Europe, to units fighting pollution and protecting the environment. It was shown it would be useful for Romania to benefit from palpable aid by receiving experts of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry and by sending delegations of Romanian experts on fact-finding visits to look into problems related to the growth of productivity and of the quality of products, to marketing and market research methods.

On behalf of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, Mr. Kabun Muto said the Japanese side was willing to work for the finalization of such ventures, to thus contribute to the growth of economic and commercial ties between the two countries.

Romania's President Ion Iliescu received Prince 'Abdallah Bin 'Abd-al-Aziz Al Sa'ud, representative of King Fahd of Saudi Arabia to the coronation ceremonies in Japan.

During the interview, the two sides expressed their interest in the expansion and diversification of bilateral relations.

Opinions were also exchanged on the situation in the Gulf area. Emphasis was placed on Romania's and Saudi Arabia's efforts on a political plane, alongside other states and at the United Nations, for the overcoming of the state of tension in that areas, which adversely affects the international political and economic climate.

President Ion Iliescu of Romania and the president of the Republic of Costa Rica, Rafael Angel Calderon, resumed the dialogue they opened in New York in September in Tokyo.

The new meeting was an occasion to reiterate the joint wish to expand and diversify bilateral relations in consideration of the affinities of language and culture between the two peoples, of their aspirations after peace and welfare.

Official invitations for mutual summit visits were accepted.

Grants Interview to Japanese Daily

AU1211182890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1701 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/11/1990—Romania is now going through a period of decisive changes the main purpose of which is to build a democratic political system based on political pluralism and the transition from a supercentralised state-owned economy to a market economy. This is an irreversible process, stated Romania's president in an interview in Tokyo with the "YOMIURI SHIMBUN" daily. Under such circumstances, there are broad possibilities to develop the cooperation with other countries, to attract foreign partners to rebuild and stimulate the Romanian economy.

Speaking of Romania's relations with Japan, President Iliescu expressed his admiration at its economic standard, technical and scientific progress and social achievements. "There are great possibilities to extend the Romanian-Japanese relations," said the president, underlining the importance of boosting the bilateral economic exchanges and expressing Romania's wish to secure Japan's economic assistance.

With reference to the situation in the Republic of Moldova, President Ion Iliescu reasserted the intention of the Romanian Government to contribute, in cooperation with the Soviet Government and the authorities in Kishinev, to calm down the tension in the republic and settle the controversial issues there. President Iliescu's visit to Moscow early next year at the invitation of the Soviets, will be part of these joint efforts. On his way back home, the president said he would stop over at Kiev and Kishinev. "We want to have good, direct relations not only with the Soviet Union, but with the other republics as well," said President Iliescu.

While acting in the general European process, Romania is also developing its relations with all the Balkan countries, confident that the enhancement of bilateral exchanges in this area can set a model of subregional cooperation. He further said Romania was willing to contribute to the relations between Western and Eastern Europe by putting the Danube-Black Sea Canal to better use and by creating the "Danube Zone." To this effect, the canal will be redesigned for a more profitable operation.

FRG Bundestag Delegation Continues Visit

Meets With Officials

AU1211212590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1951 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/11/1990—The first official contact between Romania's Parliament and the parliament of unified Germany took place in Bucharest, on November 12.

The Bundestag Foreign Relations Commission, headed by deputy Heinz Schwarz, the Christian-Democratic Union, had successive interviews at the Senate with members of the Foreign Policy Commission, of the Commission on Drafting Romania's Constitution, of the Commission on Investigation of the June 13-15, 1990 Events in Bucharest. The delegation met with Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase and with Mircea Dinescu, president of the Writers' Union in the afternoon.

The interview had a working character. The guests had the opportunity to get direct, comprehensive and exact information, from the most authorized sources, on the process of democratization of the political, economic and social life in Romania after the December revolution.

As for the phenomenon of emigration of the German ethnics, it was stressed that they leave the country now because of the economic situation which is the same for the whole Romanian people and not because of political pressures. Emphasis was placed during the discussions on the Romanian people's role in the development of the Western civilization, as this people had been a shield of big powers against barbaric populations, and suffered so many injustices in the course of history. It was shown that Romania had to be correctly and loyally analyzed in Europe.

Referring to the June 13-15 events in Bucharest, the guests posed questions about the miners' presence in the capital. Also, a list was advanced with the names of 180 persons allegedly detained, arrested and investigated. In that respect, deputy Radu Nicolae chairman of the parliamentary commission, told the delegation that there were no detained or arrested persons at present in connection with the June events. He mentioned that there were only three cases, two policemen and a miner, who committed theft during the respective events.

Answering a question posed by the head of the German delegation, Radu Nicolae said that the hearing of Romania's president too, was in view.

The present senators and deputies congratulated the guests for the historic act of the German nation the unification of the two Germanies. In turn, the guests thanked for the invitation to visit Romania and the opportunity to get to directly know Romania's efforts toward democratization.

Received by Nastase

AU1211212690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1957 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/11/1990—Adrian Nastase, Romania's minister of foreign affairs, met Monday, November 12, in the evening, the delegation of the Bundestag Foreign Relations Commission.

Aspects were approached of the development of Romanian-German relation in various fields of activity, with emphasis on the role the parliaments and their members could play in the joint effort of enhancing and extending traditional bilateral friendship relations in the context of Romania's revolution and the unification of Germany. The wish was also expressed for parliamentary relations to be adequately mirrored by the economic and trade relations between the two states, now when Romania firmly embarks on the way to a market economy.

Referring to European issues of particular interest, stress was laid on the CSCE role in the forthcoming summit in Paris, and in the future.

Visits Brasov 13 Nov

AU1311214390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2015 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 13/11/1990—A German parliamentary delegation led by Mr. Volkmar Koehler paid a visit to Brasov on Tuesday. The guests were received by County Prefect Ioan Soforniciu; Erwin Zammhammer, deputy prefect; and by other officials including Dieter Drotleff, editor-in-chief of the German-language review KARPATEN RUNDSCHAU and chairman of the Democratic Forum of the Germans in Brasov County.

The prefect referred to the major problems facing the county residents, with emphasis on the need to retechnologize Brasov enterprises and on the interest in cooperating with partners from Germany.

The guest showed that the German parliamentarians' visit to Romania, to Brasov, was part of Germany's efforts toward contributing to making up a beautiful common future of the Romanians and Germans in Romania.

Visits were paid to the Black Church, and the "Johannes Honterus" High School where an interview was held with the Democratic Forum of the Germans in Brasov County. In their dialogue with the Saxonian teachers and priests, the guests could get an image of the way in which the Germans in Brasov and nearby live, of their problems and aspirations.

Council of Europe Parliamentarians Visit

AU1211221190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2056 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/11/1990—The delegation of the Commission on Relations with European Non-Member Countries of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, headed by Rene Noerens, chairman of the Belgian Liberal Group of the Interparliamentary Union, now in Romania, had interviews on Monday morning with members of the Commission on Drafting Romania's Constitution, with members of the Commission on Investigation of the June 13-15, 1990 events as well as with senators and deputies representing the major political parties in the Romanian Parliament.

During the interview with members of the Commission on Drafting the Constitution, the guests were briefed by the chairman of the commission, Anton Iorgovan, and other members of the commission, on the stage of the drafting, on the main options considered, especially with regard to the consolidation of the country's democratization, the securing of the fundamental human rights, including the national minorities' rights.

The guests appreciated the sincerity and wide opening expressed by the commission's members.

On meeting members of the Commission on Investigation of the June 13-15 Events, the guests were informed about the stage of the investigation of the causes and responsibilities and were told that the final conclusions were not drawn yet and, when ready, they would be first presented to the Romanian Parliament and public opinion, and afterwards conveyed for analysis also to the Council of Europe. Upon the request of the delegation of the Council of Europe to be informed at least about some of the conclusions reached so far, no concrete answer was given and it was explained that the exact truths about the respective events were not clear yet. The delegation was asked for more time to settle all issues that were still unclear.

The members of the Council of Europe's delegation were surprised and discontented at not getting answers in connection with the causes of the June events.

The meeting with some senators and deputies representing the major parties in the Parliament proceeded in an open and sincere spirit. They presented the option of their respective parties on Romania's application for membership of the Council of Europe, unanimously stressing that Romania must and deserves to be granted membership of that important European forum. Arresting the attention in that context was the declaration of Radu Campeanu (NLP) [National Liberal Party—PNL], who stressed inter alia that he and his party wished and thought Romania ought to enter the Council of Europe and that should be through the front door even. "In Romania, there are now democratic institutions, there are parties that can freely express their options with no restriction at all. My belief," he said, "is that Romania's evolution toward democratization is irreversible and that we cannot turn back. For all the events in our country, it is sure that we are heading toward democracy and the role of the opposition is to back this process of democratization of the country."

In turn, deputy Ion Diaconescu (National Peasant Party) stressed: "Romania's access to the Council of Europe is a must and we wholeheartedly wish it."

"The MDUR [Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania—UDMR] backs Romania's application for Council of Europe membership" stressed also deputy Geza Domokos, leader of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, showing that the MDUR does not wish the changing of the country's frontiers and works for Romania's integrity and sovereignty. "We want to live in collaboration with the Romanian people." After pointing out that there are many changes for the better in Romania after the December revolution, as regards the rights of the national minorities, he said that there still are claims that have to be granted and that there is a positive process in this respect.

Standpoints on the questions posed by the members of the delegation of the Council of Europe were presented also by parliamentarians Vasile Vacaru (NSF), [National Salvation Front—FSN] Mihai Balanescu (Ecological Movement), Victor Surdu (the Agrarian Democratic Party), Mircea Cretu (AUR) [Alliance for Romanians' Unity], Liviu Muresan (NSF), explaining the process of democratization, the difficulties encountered in the application of the reform program started by the Parliament and the government. They asked the delegation to carefully analyze the real political situation in Romania and back Romania's joining that important forum.

Thanking the Romanian parliamentarians for their explanations, the guests wished the Romanian Parliament success and Romania a fine future in the Council of Europe.

Meet With Stanculescu, Others

AU1311152690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1515 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 13/11/1990—The delegation of the commission for relations with European non-member countries of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe met in turn Major-General Dumitru Penciuc, secretary of state, head of the Political Relations Department; Colonel George Ioan Danescu, secretary of state, head of the Police Department in the Ministry of the Interior; Victor Babiuc, minister of justice and Colonel-General Victor Stanculescu, defence minister.

During the interview, upon the guests' request, the representatives of the Ministry of the Interior supplied details about the June 13-15 events and the miners' involvement therein, as well as about illegal rallies further staged in our country in an attempt to destabilize economic and political life. The guests were also informed of the action taken by the Ministry of the Interior for the depolitization and training of that institution's employees, in order to turn it into a law-enforcing instrument meant to protect the rights and liberties of the citizens.

The members of the delegation had talks with the minister of justice and his team in connection with the action taken and the new bills recently passed or now in study by the Romanian Parliament regarding the reorganization of an independent justice and a reform of penal procedure in Romania.

The discussion of the Council of Europe delegation with defence minister Colonel-General Victor Stanculescu and his team referred to topics concerning the condition of the former Securitate after the December revolution and the activity of such newly-created offices as the Romanian intelligence service, the foreign information service, the gendarme troops and the guards of special objectives and of Romanian dignitaries.

The relationship between those services and the control exerted by the country's Parliament thereon were explained. The representatives of the defence minister further answered the guests' questions about the Army's attitude toward the events of December 16-22, 1989, of March and June 13-15, 1990.

The delegation of the commission for relations with nonmember countries of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe met with members of the commission investigating into the Tirgu Mures events. On that occasion points were made on the inter-ethnic conflict in the area.

The talks ended with the hope being expressed that such events as those in Tirgu Mures in March would never recur in Romania.

Meet With Student Leader Munteanu

AU1311193890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1901 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 13/11/1990—Tuesday morning a delegation of the Council of Europe had talks with Students League Leader Marian Munteanu in an attempt to clarify certain aspects of the 13-15 June events as seen by him as a direct participant.

Foreign Minister Meets Luxembourg Delegation

AU1311193690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1859 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 13/11/1990—The governmental delegation from Luxembourg headed by Georges Wohlfart, government member, had talks Tuesday, 13 November, with the Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase on the steps to put into practice the agreements reached at Luxembourg during Premier Petre Roman's visit. To this effect, two were the draft agreements tackled: The economic and the cultural-scientific ones.

The guests were interested in the terms Romania offers to foreign investors, in the real possibilities for bilateral cooperation, of opening Luxembourg firms in Romania.

Government Examines Current Economic Issues

AU1011180990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1621 GMT 10 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/11/1990—"The lack of balance between resources and capacities inherited from the old regime became unbearable," government appreciates announcing "structural adjustments" without which its programme of reforms "cannot be successfully implemented."

This question was analysed by Prime Minister Petre Roman and his collaborators in the economy on Novemoer 10, 1990.

The communique released at the end of that meeting shows that the causes of such a situation are "the high energy consumptions correlated with low productivity and with the physically and morally used technologies," "the increase in the oil prices following the Gulf crisis" and "the almost 50-per cent reduction of the national coal output."

The document reads inter alia: "The need to compensate for the shortcomings in the home production by imports as well as the increases in the oil prices gravely affected the country's foreign balance of payments, creating difficulties in acquiring energy and materials from abroad. In these conditions the country's foreign currency resources can no longer support the present power consumptions."

As far as the structural adjustments are concerned, they refer to:

—Putting an end to the energy supply or reducing the energy quotas given by the state to those sectors which do not manufacture merchantable goods as well as to the sectors with constantly exaggerated consumptions of oil and natural gas;

—Stimulating the coal, oil and natural gas output by attracting additional workforce to the aforementioned sectors, by giving certain benefits included;

—Expanding and speeding up the lease of oil fields also to those plots of land allowing for secondary or even tertiary oil recovery;

—Reducing the fuel allocation by 10 per cent for industrial and interurban automotive transport, and setting up a group of inspectors—at the Ministry of Finances—to check the traffic in order to limitate exaggerated consumptions and theft of fuel;

—Giving an impetus to private initiative and promoting competition in those sectors with assets of low value and complexity.

For these measures to be carried into effect, the economic ministries are called to make concrete proposals which will be analysed during the government's next meeting.

In order to increase the country's hard currency resources and to make up the balance of payments, the communique also reads, the government—with the observance of GATT provisions—will support the export in November and December by total or partial suspending the tax on goods circulation as well as by compensating from the budget for the negative influences resulted from the leu depreciation and from the price liberalisation, for the foreign contracts concluded before November 1, 1990. As far as the foreign trade contracts concluded after the aforementioned day or the future contracts are concerned, it was decided that the Ministry of Finances, the Ministry of Resources and Industry and the Ministry of Commerce and Tourism make a complex analysis for each category of goods and each market based on the enterprises' projects which should aim at re-orienting production and export in accord with efficiency principles as well as at making up again the balance between material resources and production capacities. The conclusions of that analysis will be submitted to the government for approval.

It was also decided that all the above-mentioned measures be defined and applied so that they should not affect the population's supply with electric and thermic energy or with fuel during the winter, the communique concludes.

Majority of Workers Favor Privatization

AU0911155790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1052 GMT 9 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 9/11/1990—Most of the workers in the industries that employ 60 percent of

Romania's industrial work force support privatisation and the transition to the market economy, shows an opinion poll conducted by the Romanian Public Opinion Poll Institute on request from the National Confederation of Free Trade Unions on a representative 2,137 sample of industrial workers.

The poll, carried out over 16-18 October 1990, showed 73 percent of the respondents backed the privatisation of the economy, 13 were against, and 14 percent were undecided. In the process, 73 percent favoured the free distribution of the wealth of the country the proportion of which should vary with the length of service, salary and branch of the economy, 23 percent thought distribution should be equal for all, and four percent were undecided.

The poll also showed that 37 percent would have liked the units they were working in to become mixed state and private property, 33 percent opted for state ownership, and 27 percent were seeking private property. Answering another question, 20 percent were concerned about price rises, 18 percent about growing social disorder, 17 percent about losing their jobs, 17 percent about money shortage, eight percent about foods shortages, and one-up to five percent about the growing wave of strikes, the change of jobs, retraining and relocation.

Up to 63 percent of the respondents failed to understand the price rises for products and services, as only 43 percent assess the current level of salaries as appropriately reflecting their work.

On trade unions activity, the poll show that 47 percent of respondents think the unions in their economic unit do not represent their interests before the boards of administration, compared with 36 percent who think they do.

Statistics on Oct Economic Achievements

AU1311194290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1919 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 13/11/1990—A communique from the National Statistics Board shows that achievements of October 1990 as compared with those of October 1989 account for 76 percent in the case of industrial marketable production and productivity, 65 percent in investment, 49 percent in exports on a clearing basis in rubles and 92 percent in exports in hard currency.

Rises as to the same period of reference were registered in imports in hard currency (37 percent), deliveries of commodities to the market stock from home production (eleven percent) and retail sales (19 percent).

As for external economic activities, exports in hard currency increased 39.2 million dollars in October over September (with the largest volume of monthly exports of the year), while imports dropped roughly 60 million dollars, which reflected in a decrease of the negative difference between exports and imports from 192 million dollars in September to 93 million dollars in October. In the same period, exports on a clearing basis in rubles reduced 8.4 million rubles, while imports increased 20.9 million rubles, so that the negative difference between exports and imports increased to 151 million rubles from 121 million rubles in September.

PNT-cd Leader on Role of Opposition

AU1311170490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1626 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 13/11/1990—The leader of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party (NPCDP) [National Peasant Christian Democratic Party—PNT-cd] makes this statement in an interview with "ADEVARUL" daily also assessing that Parliament, in which his party has only eleven deputies and a senator "is not representative." "We militate for an extraparliamentary opposition under the form of antitotalitarian forums set up in various towns," he added specifying that they would manifest themselves in the press, through street demonstrations and moral pressure.

The NPCDP president assessed as negative the present government of the country which did not take enough democratization and privatization measures. "I do not contest the professional capabilities of the government members, I do not contest their good faith either," Mr. Coposu stressed. "But I think that they cannot overcome the Marxist dialectics. (...) I cannot say that the government would have credibility were it of another political orientation. But it is obvious that it is handicapped by the fact that it represents the National Salvation Front. Maybe this is a prejudgment of the Western governments, parliaments and press about our country."

The National Peasant Party leader also said that the government had made a mistake favouring "an atmosphere that invites to calling strikes solved by granting the strikers' demands." He also voiced his discontent over the time the television grants to the opposition and the fact that his party had not been compensated for the loss inflicted on it on 14 and 15 June.

"We have formed a shadow government," Mr. Corneliu Coposu stated in another string of ideas," but we are not craving after power, as we are convinced that any government would become unpopular in a very short time. (...) had we been the ruling party we would have got the credibility and the investments of the West, but the difficulties facing the country at present would have borne on any government."

Ambassador to Iraq Recalled From Baghdad

LD1411062190 Tehran IRNA in English 0508 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, Nov. 14, IRNA—By decree of the Yugoslav collective Presidency this country's ambassador to Iraq, Stojan Andov has been recalled from Baghdad.

According to state news agency TANJUG Tuesday, Ambassador Andov asked some time ago to be relieved of his diplomatic duties in order to devote himself to political activity at home.

Yugoslavia is presently in the throes of multiparty elections.

The Presidency, the report says, decided to grant Andov's request and steps have already been taken to nominate a new ambassador to Baghdad.

Relations between the two countries have been under strain recently due to Yugoslavia's stand on the Persian Gulf crisis. Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar, at present visiting Iran, Syria and Jordan, waited in vain for an invitation from Baghdad.

Executive Council Warns Against Law Violations

LD1311232390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2205 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Nov (TANJUG)—The Federal Executive Council has warned that violations of the Yugoslav Constitution and the federal laws are endangering the system, the reform, and the lives of all citizens of our country to such an extent that unless this erosion of law is not stopped by all constitutional means, general chaos could prevail. Here is the full statement from the meeting between the Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic and presidents of the republican and provincial executive councils and governments:

If unconstitutional regulations breaching the single Yugoslav market and adopted by Serbia were fully implemented, then inflation for November would only rise by 1.5 or two percent in all of Yugoslavia, and by five or six percent in Serbia." This was said at a working meeting with Ante Markovic, Federal Executive Council president, and presidents of the republican and provincial executive councils and governments. At the meeting, which was held this afternoon, views about the current social and economic situation were exchanged.

The Serbian Executive Council and Assembly went as far in their breach of federal regulations as to introduce a levy on goods coming from the federal goods reserve, as if they were imported, despite the fact that 99 percent of goods coming from the federal reserve were produced in this country.

Serbia and Slovenia are guilty of introducing protectionist measures within the single Yugoslav market through the adoption of some laws. Breaches of the federal laws have almost completely blocked the flow of money into the federal budget. Thus daily funds paid into the federal budget are almost 20 times less than planned. According to the Yugoslav Social Accountancy Service, in the period between 16 and 31 October, Slovenia did not pay 164 million dinars from turnover tax due to the Federation. Between 1 September and 30 October, Serbia proper failed to pay 2.166 billion dinars (830 million collected from turnover tax, and 1.336 billion dinars from custom duties). Slovenia and Vojvodina paid in regularly their contributions collected from custom duties.

Breaches of the Yugoslav Constitution and the federal laws brought about an erosion of the rule of law, which endangers not only the system and the reform, but also the everyday life of all citizens in the country. As this erosion has lately been accelerated, the Federal Executive Council warns that if it is not halted with all constitutional means, general chaos could prevail. The Federal Executive Council must not allow this. It will state this openly to the Yugoslav Assembly and the entire Yugoslav public who is guilty of this, and who should bear the possible concrete consequences and the historical responsibility.

At today's meeting, the Federal Executive Council has proposed to representatives of the republican and provincial executive councils and governments that amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution be adopted as soon as possible and, in doing so, conditions be created for a peaceful transitional period from one into another system, which includes direct multiparty elections in republics, autonomous provinces and at the federal level.

The Federal Executive Council briefed the representatives of the executive councils and of the governments of the republics and of the Province of Vojvodina on the economic results in 1990, and on the macroeconomic policy proposals for the ensuing year. This current year has represented a turning point with regard to the changes in our economic system—although admittedly in a more normative way—while the new market institutions, especially in the capital and labor area, still have to take off. The difficulties regarding the implementation of the anti-inflation program surfaced in the second half of the year, predominantly because of the crisis in the Persian Gulf, catastrophic drought, and also because of intensified political rivalry in the country.

Thanks to positive results in the first part of the year and enormous foreign currency reserves, the strike against the government stabilization policy has been withstood. If, however, the excessive growth of personal, general, and joint expenditure is not stopped by the end of the year, the chances for a more efficient struggle with prices will be considerably less, and will require considerably greater efforts and sacrifices.

The Federal Executive Council expects that political consensus of support for the stabilization program will be reestablished in 1991. Through further stimulation of

economic restructuring, mainly through transformation of ownership and implementation of the program to improve the banking system and the economy as a whole, the Federal Executive Council expects that with a consistent application of market-oriented measures, inflation next year will be such that for 1991 as a whole it will represent an approximately 20 percent price increase.

Government Issues Statement on Enforcing Laws

LD0911232590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2232 GMT 9 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government is resolute in its efforts to ensure full respect for and application of all federal laws, says a statement issued after a government session here today.

The session was convened to review a report by the country's top financial control body (SDK) which said that an audit of republican and provincial accounts for the period from September 1 to October 31 showed irregularities in the appropriation of tax money.

The SDK's assistant director General Velimir Maskovic told the press today that the republics of Slovenia and Serbia and the province of Vojvodina (which is part of Serbia) did not appropriate the money from state taxes as stipulated under federal regulations.

After collating the data of the audit, the SDK will file charges against the offenders, said Maskovic.

Markovic Meets Farmers on Destroying Monopolies

LD1011003390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1957 GMT 9 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—FEC [Federal Executive Committee] President Ante Markovic this evening received a delegation of the First Congress of Cooperative Farmers of Yugoslavia, the FEC Secretariat for Information announced.

Ante Markovic told the cooperative farmers that we are in a transitional period between an old and a new system and that without the transformation of social ownership into other forms of ownership, including cooperative ownership, the old relations in political practice are, in factual terms, reproduced. The FEC, through its normative activity, has opened up a process of transition to a new system. The task now facing all others, including cooperative farmers, is to destroy, in accordance with one's own possibilities, the monopolies based on social ownership.

The cooperative farmers, it is announced, stressed to the FEC president that in the almost two years since the adoption of the law on cooperative farming "enormous processes of change have been set in motion in this area."

Drnovsek Discusses Situation in Country

AU0911162290 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27-28 Oct 90 p 5

[Report on interview with SFRY Presidency member Janez Drnovsek by Dara Vucinic and Bojana Zukov; place and date not given: "We Are Fighting Too Much"]

[Excerpts] The SFRY Presidency and the SFRY Assembly last week were full of "confusion," information and disinformation, anxiety, speculations about walkouts by different delegations and the disintegration of the "parliamentary" country. Finally, however, everything ended quietly with Stipe Mesic being inaugurated vice president of the SFRY Presidency, Borisav Jovic delivering his speech with, of course, applause. There was also some commotion, controversial statements and denials, statements and counter statements concerning Janez Drnovsek, member of the SFRY Presidency.

We, therefore, asked Dr. Drnovsek whether "all is well that ends well" and whether everything did end well, at least for the time being:

"I hope that the situation is now under some control. I think that the air has in some way been cleared, and after considerable complications everything ended sensibly. It is good that Mesic was inaugurated. The Presidency is now complete. If this had not happened, we would have had a crisis situation in the functioning of the Presidency. [passage omitted]

[BORBA] There was some talk in the Assembly, which the media reported, that you had a speech prepared about "the confederal concept."

[Drnovsek] I did not announce that. On the contrary, I said that I did not want to appear as the spokesman for the confederal concept.

[BORBA] Nevertheless, you had a speech ready for the Assembly session scheduled for last Friday [19 October].

[Drnovsek] Yes, but only for the Assembly discussion, if it was going to be held, which, as you know, was not held. [passage omitted]

[BORBA] What do you think about the possibility of Slovenia seceding from Yugoslavia?

[Drnovsek] I think that a sensible confederal concept would be much better for us than to completely split and break up. Considering that relations in our republics and among our peoples are so disturbed, I consider completely unrealistic the concept of the so-called modern federation which would amount to even closer ties than up to now, and which would be founded on the sovereignty of the republics smaller than that which existed up to now. [passage omitted]

[BORBA] There has been much talk among the public about the founding of a new party in Slovenia. Pregl, Vajgl, and Bohinc are mentioned as possible leaders. You are mentioned, too.

[Drnovsek] I know that the initiative to found a new party exists, but I am not involved in it. As far as I know, this would be a party slightly left of center—that is to say, a left-oriented party, not a single nationality party. Personally, I am still trying to preserve a nonparty position.

[BORBA] Is it possible that you could soon replace Milan Kucan at the helm of Slovenia? There is a lot of "gossip" about this.

[Drnovsek] I have recently been asked this very frequently, but not in the sense of replacing Kucan, rather in the sense of whether I will be running in the next presidential elections in Slovenia. What I said, and this is what I think, is that it is too early to concern myself with such questions. [passage omitted]

[BORBA] As an economic expert, you supported Ante Markovic's program. Now many people in Slovenia and in other republics are predicting his fall in the near future. What about you?

[Drnovsek] I have tried my best to help with the creation and the implementation of the program, which was, after all, quite good. The initial results were, of course, very good, even spectacular.

It is a pity that Ante Markovic, and perhaps all of us together with him, did not have the opportunity to implement such a program three years ago, before our interethnic relations deteriorated. Unfortunately, the crisis has lasted too long. No progress has been made for 10 years. This is why in fact we need now to find a stable political solution. Only then will the economic program have realistic chances of succeeding. [passage omitted]

Vote Count in Macedonia Slow, Communists Lead

AU1311202990 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Dragan Stavljanin report from Skopje]

[Text] Many remarks about the regularity of the elections, even announcements of plans to boycott them, the slow counting of votes, and, as time goes by, a more convincing lead by the League of Communists of Macedonia, are the characteristics of this second day after the first round of elections in Macedonia.

The first unofficial data on results in 51 out of 120 electoral units have been announced. It is very interesting that in only eight electoral regions [okrug], candidates managed to win the necessary majority of more than 50 percent which enables them to become deputies. Three of those candidates are from the League of Communists, three are from the ethnic Albanians' Party of Democratic Prosperity, one from the Alliance of Reform Forces, and one from the Socialist Party. Out of the better-known names, leaders of the communists and the reformists, Petar Gosev and Stojan Andov, have been elected. In the remaining 43 electoral units, no one has received the necessary majority, so the second round of elections will be carried out there in 14 days.

After this first round, communists enjoy an advantage in 23 electoral regions, the Reformist Alliance in 12, the Albanian Party in four, and the socialists in one.

The national bloc of the Macedonian parties has obviously experienced an electoral catastrophe. The only member of the bloc to have won a majority, albeit only in three electoral units, is the VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization].

The slow counting of votes is caused by many remarks that must be examined and problems in the field. Out of about 3,000 polling stations, elections have been proclaimed invalid in 20. Almost no data has been received from western Macedonia—mostly populated by ethnic Albanians—which is explained by many mistakes and manipulations there.

It is, therefore, obvious that the national bloc of Macedonian parties is partly right when it points to the irregularity of the elections. The fact, however, is that these parties are demanding that elections be repeated in the whole of Macedonia, because, according to the results so far, they have experienced a debacle.

Regarding the electoral results, the fact that no one received the necessary majority in a huge number of electoral units means two things: First, the second round will, in fact, be decisive because the vote will be repeated in most electoral units, and, second, even after this second round, a coalition will probably have to be made.

Different Assessments of Macedonian Elections

AU1211175790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Report by Boris Djordjioski, Dragan Stavljanin, and Milos Trajkovic]

[Text] According to unofficial data, about 70 percent of the electorate participated in the first multiparty elections in Macedonia yesterday [11 November]. Although according to the turnout, the elections were a success. Macedonian national parties are of the opinion that they were a farce and a fraud, and that the Macedonian people have been cheated. It is interesting that while national parties are calling on [word indistinct] to boycott the elections, international observers are of the opinion that, generally speaking, the first multiparty elections in that republic were successful and democratic. Here is a report from Skopje by Boris Djordjioski, Dragan Stavljanin, and Milos Trajkovic:

Several news conferences have been held in the press center in the Macedonian Assembly building today at which completely contradictory assessments of yesterday's elections in the republic have been voiced. Speaking on behalf of the official CSCE commission, David Evans said that the first multiparty elections in Macedonia were well organized and held in a democratic

atmosphere, that the parties could control both the elections and the counting of votes. Further on, he said that there was no militia at the polling stations and that the commission members have observed no irregularities although they visited 15 polling stations in Skopje and in several other towns in Macedonia.

In Evans' words, it is impressive that it arrangements were made for people working abroad to vote after they showed their passports. The only remark Evans had was about the number of citizens at individual polling stations and the crowds that ensued. He said that the CSCE commission is awaiting the initial results of the first Macedonian elections with great interest.

While from the point of view of the international public everything was in the best of order, parties of the so-called Macedonian national bloc consider the elections to be an ordinary farce. They say that the Macedonian people have been cheated and tricked and the international public has been deceived.

Representatives of the national bloc which includes the MAAK [Movement for All-Macedonian Action], the VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization], the Farmers Party, and the People's Party presented many elements which, according to them, prove that the elections were irregular. The secrecy of the vote was violated because representatives of the ethnic Albanian Party of Democratic Prosperity were at the polling stations convincing their fellow nationals to vote for them. Furthermore, according to the national bloc, this ethnic Albanian party in Kicevo unauthorizedly transferred ballot boxes to their headquarters. In this town, ethnic Albanians were voting under Ibrahim Rugova's photograph.

It was also said that members of this national minority voted at one place with their passport and then again at another with their identity card. This led to a lack of ballot papers. Macedonians could not vote when their turn came, also because ethnic Albanians came to vote in large numbers early in the morning and thus simply laid siege to polling stations.

The Macedonian parties in the national bloc also protest because it was not made possible for the Macedonians abroad to vote. This is why the Macedonian national bloc is giving up its further participation in the electoral activities, will withdraw all its candidates for deputies, and calls on the Macedonian people to boycott the elections completely. The Workers Party has also joined this appeal, which means that at least one-quarter of all proposed candidates in the republic has been withdrawn.

The national bloc demands that an interim government of civil servants [cinovnicka vlada] should be formed which would consist of representatives of all parties and which should prepare new and honest elections. The people are called on to act in a dignified manner and not to be taken in by provocations.

When asked what will happen if despite their boycott the elections nevertheless are concluded, VMRO Vice President Vladimir Golubovski said that nobody should be happy in advance thinking they will benefit from such a situation. If the national bloc fails to take part, the new authorities will be incomplete and undemocratic, Golubovski said, and warned that 300,000 Macedonians will take to the streets at even the slightest suggestion.

Macedonian Parliament Appeals to Federal Assembly

LD1311203890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1722 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, November 13 (TANJUG)—The parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has demanded of the Yugoslav parliament to prevent "one-sided suspensions of federal legislation, and allow for a peaceful and democratic dialogue on ordering the future relations in Yugoslavia."

This was contained in a text of the Macedonian parliament which has just arrived in the federal parliament and which sets out that "failing to adhere to the Constitution and Yugoslav legislation prevented the functioning of the federation." The Macedonian parliament demand especially singles out the Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia, which were "preventing" the federation to "promptly carry out its obligations towards the federal units."

The Macedonian parliament document warns of the "current dramatic economic and political situation in the country, and thus in Macedonia too."

Profiles of New Montenegrin Parties Released

AU0911162090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27-28 Oct 90 p 4

[Dragoljub Vukovic report: "Old Death of New Mistakes"]

[Excerpt] "Montenegrins think carefully." This was the first sentence of a decree by the illegal Committee for the Independence of Montenegro, which, on its own admission, has about 30 members. The fighters for independence are stating that they are worried about Montenegro's destiny because it has hanging over it "dark clouds of greater Serbian tyranny, which threatens to overwhelm it during the next centuries." We do not have any other solution, the decree says, to an independent and autonomous Montenegro. "Yugoslavia is dead, and the mistake of the planetary program of communism is also dead. Its duration coincides exactly with the time when we lost our independence and 10 centuries of statehood." The end of the decree is reserved for "young Montenegro," which should "wake up and realize that its roots are deeply embedded in the Mediterranean and Europe." The Committee for the Independence of Montenegro states that it will operate until its aims are

completely achieved, and it will emerge from the underground after the multiparty elections, "because we want to retain a supra-party position." Others have also appeared who are interested in saving Montenegro. In a public statement, an unknown initiative committee says that the "reform forces of the Montenegro-party of honest Montenegrins" will be set up. It also denies any link with "Ante's alliance" which it says is an "anti-Montenegrin coalition" and which, in its opinion, "will be remembered only as an ugly stain on the otherwise glorious Montenegrin history."

The Collapse of Serbianism and Njegos's Chapel

While the unidentified initiative committee was speaking about the "anti-Montenegrinism" of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia for Montenegro, Jusuf Kalemperovic, member of the Montenegrin state Presidency, left the League of Communists, criticizing the leadership of his party for, among other things, its negative stands against Ante's reformists.

During the formation of the branch of the People's Party in the Niksic settlement of Dragova Luka, those attending the meeting paid their respects to communist victims with a minute's silence. The initiative committee for the return of Njegos's chapel to Lovcen was also founded recently and, among other things, talks about the fact that the time for constructing the mausoleum coincides with the beginning of the collapse of Serbia and Serbianism.

A couple of days earlier, the communal authorities in Bijelo Polje banned a meeting of the Party of Democratic Action, and the Democratic Forum of Albanians in Ulcinj, and the Democratic Alliance for Montenegro protested to the communal and republican authorities about the misdemeanor charges that were filed against Cazim Kovaci, who had been selling the Albanian-language weekly "DIELI" ("Sun") which is published in Zagreb and the book "Demaci," published by Zagreb DANAS.

The information that we have cited holds the key to revealing the essence of the current "pre-political" conflicts in Montenegro. The political forces which face each other have to a great extent already presented their ideas and made their own recognizable mark on public opinion. We doubt that the political actors will be able to change this impression in the period of slightly more than a month which is left until the elections. There is simply neither the time nor the inclination for this. The pretenders to the throne can only persuade the indifferent and fearful part of the population to nevertheless go to the polls on 9 December. [passage omitted]

People's Peasant Party Presents Program

AU0911214090

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 9 October, jointly with Belgrade 202, Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, and again at 1500 GMT, jointly with Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, carries programs presenting the People's Peasant Party, as part of its series of programs entitled "Democratic Elections in Serbia in 1990," presenting the Serbian political parties taking part in the upcoming republican elections.

The first program lasts half an hour and features Dragan Veselinov, president of the Executive Council of the People's Peasant Party, speaking about the party's program. According to Veselinov, the party has some 35,000 members in Serbia, Vojvodina, Croatia, Slovenia, and other parts of the country.

The party's program places special emphasis on the interests and welfare of peasants. One of the main demands of the party is that the state should return all land that has been confiscated from peasants since World War II.

The second program lasts one hour and features two members of the party answering in detail the moderator's questions about various aspects of the party's program.

Democratic Party Announces Program, Policies

AU0911214490

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 0930 GMT on 9 October, jointly with Belgrade 202, Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, and again at 1600 GMT, jointly with Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, carries programs presenting the Democratic Party, as part of its series of programs entitled "Democratic Elections in Serbia in 1990," presenting the Serbian political parties taking part in the upcoming republican elections.

The first program lasts half an hour and begins by an unidentified person saying: "We only have 10 seconds to present the Democratic Party. We will speak very quickly." This is immediately followed by a completely indistinct speeded up recording lasting approximately 10 seconds. The rest of the half hour consists of what could be described as a spoof on several Belgrade Radio programs.

The second program lasts one hour and features three members of the party's Executive Council: Professor Radoslav Stojanovic, Ljubomir Jacic, and Slobodan Vuckovic, who answer the questions put forward by the moderator Kosta Krajincanic about the party's views on the country's setup, Serbia's position, political life after elections, the party's economic and social policies, interethnic relations, and Kosovo.

The representatives of the party begin by saying that the party continues the traditions and policies of the prewar Democratic Party of Ljubo Davidovic and that it has some 20,000 members.

According to them, "the Democratic Party insists on the preservation of Yugoslavia," organized as "a decentralized federation with a narrow sphere of competences which have to be performed at the federal level. The transfer of duties to the republics would be achieved through a consensus."

As regards the upcoming elections, the representatives of the party say that "the Democratic Party will not take part in the elections if the Serbian Assembly and the executive organs of power do not show readiness to accept the initiative of a group of delegates [concerning amendments to the law on elections] supported by all major opposition parties."

Croatian Party Chairman Removed From Assembly

LD0911132590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1108 GMT 9 Nov 90

[Text] Zagreb, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—We see the behavior of the ruling party as revengeful because of the criticism we are directing at it, states a public protest of the opposition Croatian Peasant Party [Hrvatska Seljacka Stranka—HSS]. The party is sharply protesting the expulsion of the party chairman from the premises of the Croatian Assembly.

HSS Chairman Ivan Zvonimir Cicak arrived this morning for a meeting with representatives of his party in the assembly. Policemen at the entrance tried to prevent his entry, but Cicak explained that he had a meeting with deputies in the assembly, and entered the building. Ten minutes later two plain-clothes policemen interrupted the meeting of HSS deputies and removed the chairman from the assembly building.

This is a flagrant violation of democratic and parliamentary rules of behavior in Europe, the protest states. The protest also notes the presence in the assembly of party officials of the ruling party, and claims they had no official connections with the assembly or the government. The HSS demands a public apology, and a guarantee that multiparty parliamentary life will be able to proceed normally in Croatia.

Slovene Youth Party Decides To Change Name

LD1011184590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1517 GMT 10 Nov 90

[Summary] Zagorje ob Savi, 10 Nov (TANJUG)—Delegates at the 14th Congress of the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation-Liberal Party today decided to rename the party the Liberal Democratic Party.

Elects Chairman, Secretary

LD1011215990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2013 GMT 10 Nov 90

[Summary] Zagorje ob Savi, 10 Nov (TANJUG)—At a meeting of the newly named Liberal Democratic Party [Liberalna Demokratska Stranka] today, Jozef Skolc was elected chairman and Roman Latvar secretary of the party.

Bosnian Croat Leader Discusses HDZ Future

AU0911103790 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 23 Oct 90 p 3

[Interview with Stjepan Kljuic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina branch of the Croatian Democratic Community, by Aleksandar Tijanic; place and date not given: "The Croats Have Done Quite a lot of Time"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted]

[Tijanic] It is interesting that prominent guests from Croatia no longer attend meetings of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] for Bosnia-Hercegovina. For example, the once readily received Sime Djodan is no longer at these meetings.

[Kljuic] At one time, we used to have guests from Croatia, which is natural because they come from a community where the HDZ has been victorious, and they could give some encouragement to the people. Our internal independence, however, is affirmed by the recognition that circumstances in Bosnia-Hercegovina are very specific and that the appearance of people with extreme stands would not only be a handicap for the HDZ, but could at this time also create a tense atmosphere. We are a peaceable organization, and we do not want to irritate other parties and peoples with our actions. This is not because we are cowards, but because we consider that maximum patience is needed, as well as maximum tolerance and maximum respect for cohabitation. We also believe that there is not one single question that cannot be resolved through an agreement.

[Tijanic] Are you claiming that Mr. Djodan belongs to the radical and extreme cadres of the HDZ?

[Kljuic] I would not claim anything about Mr. Djodan: I personally have a lot of sympathy for him and everything that he has lived through. At this moment, however, we do not think that Mr. Djodan would contribute to the creation of a more tolerant atmosphere prior to the elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Simply put, the HDZ should shape its platform and relations with other parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina through its own cadres and the people in its leadership. [passage omitted]

[Tijanic] Mr. Kljuic, do you expect to win the votes of all the Croats in Bosnia?

[Kljuic] It is difficult to say! We expect the Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina will finally realize that this is the last moment for them to set themselves up as a constituent people, especially as the HDZ has a very wide scope. We are a very tolerant party.

[Tijanic] There are also quite different views. It is thought, for example, that the program of the HDZ, as it was prior to the Croatian elections, could not be implemented in a peaceful way.

[Kljuic] I would like above all for others not to represent us. In the last 30 days, we have had more than 40 meetings attended by half a million people, and there has not been one single incident. On the contrary, we have renounced people who have behaved and given statements contrary to our program's basic tenets. The Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina sent a letter to Mr. Tudjman and did not send it to some other republics and some other parties whose representatives have come here and said very aggressive things. All this confirms that the HDZ is seen with different eyes. [passage omitted]

[Tijanic] Perhaps it would be easier for you to explain why you are the only party leader in Sarajevo who lives and works in a hotel.

[Kljuic] I have been in the hotel for just two days because I was persecuted in the apartment where I lived for a long time, and which I received from VJESNIK. I have frequently received written threats and threatening phone calls. The apartment is on the ground floor so I thought it would be better for me to move into a hotel. Please, do not mention the name of the hotel.

[Tijanic] Of course not, but I see that your room is some kind of party headquarters. Do you not have your own premises?

[Kljuic] This is a tragedy of our democratization. Everyone knows that these magnifient buildings in Sarajevo were built by representatives of the Croatian people and even members of the HDZ. We have not been given the opportunity, however, to acquire premises for the party. Some firms which rent out property have even rejected our offers, even though we are prepared to pay any price they ask. [passage omitted]

[Tijanic] There is the view that the Communists and reformists will win half the Croatian vote and the HDZ the other half.

[Kljuic] The tradition of political oppression has, in fact, produced this number of Croats among the reformists. I think that at this moment the Communists have a better program than the reformists, but we cannot forget what they have done over 45 years. I think that we are talking about a skillful political trick—that is, they put all the people who had brought harm to the peoples in Bosnia-Hercegovina in Neum and threw out the young people. The Croatian people should realize this political trick because who will assure me that Mr. Lagumdzija and Mr. Komsic will remain in their positions after the elections and that Mr. Karabegovic, for example, will not return?

[Tijanic] You are not more favorably disposed toward the reformists?

[Kljuic] That party was set up in an irregular way. Mr. Markovic should have set up the party before the democratic elections in Slovenia and Croatia. Second, he should have submitted his resignation, because he is still the president of all Yugoslavs, and even our president, but is working directly against us. Finally, Mr. Markovic and the leaders of the reformists have not with one single action taken a stand regarding the Bosnia-Hercegovina amendments, which were fatal for the Croatian people. After all, if we look at the names of the reformists, these are all ultra-rightist Communists. That is to say, those who the Communists themselves are in a certain way getting rid of. [passage omitted]

[Tijanic] You are committed to a confederal option, but you can see that the Serbs are rejecting such a solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

[Kljuic] I am against any kind of ultimatum. The people should decide, but before that, we must create a state of Bosnia-Hercegovina in which we will all be equal and where no one will be in danger, so that no one outside this territory will ask any questions. The Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs, as well as the Croats and Muslims should above all see Bosnia-Hercegovina as their homeland. We cannot determine our internal structure according to some elements outside Bosnia-Hercegovina. We must, above all, reach agreement inside Bosnia-Hercegovina, so that our republic can be a partner on an equal footing with the others, because I think that not one single republic has an advantage over Bosnia-Hercegovina regarding statehood, either according to God's or man's law. Another thing is to determine this status on the basis of our independence and how we will do this and where. I mean specifically, if we enter Europe, I would advocate a confederation. We must realize that it is up to us to live together, true we do not have to be under the partisan banner of brotherhood and unity, but we must be tolerant and broad-minded, and respect each other. If love emerges one day from these premises, which of us will be happier? [passage omitted]

[Tijanic] Do you think that the center of your party in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but also in Croatia, will successfully resist the right-wing extremists who demand arms and advocate revanchism against the Croatian left wing?

[Kljuic] We have pointed to reconciliation with all Croats. That is one thing. We are not in favor of repression and revanchism, however, and in this respect matters are quite clear. We cannot allow the right wing to make the situation more tense. The HDZ has its own program, which is in favor of a civilian state and Europe. We have resistance within the party but, as you see, we are crushing it and managing to hold fast, but do not think that this is easy.

[Tijanic] Could the party split in the near future into its center and its right wing?

[Kljuic] I do not think so! I think that the authority of Mr. Tudjman is too great and that the forces around him

are so healthy and powerful that they will resist these rightist currents above all. Apart from that, if the destruction and bombing of roads continues, this will only be to the advantage of the rightist currents. I ask you, who will take responsibility for initiating a direct conflict in this Yugoslavia? If you ask me, I am in favor of civil peace above all. I dare not even think of civil war because there would be such a massacre that all previous civil wars would seem like child's play compared with what would be in store for us. I am, therefore, appealing to all people of good will, regardless of their political and national affiliation, to lead other people toward agreement, tolerance, cohabitation, and not to inflame passions. [passage omitted]

Defense Changes Occur in Bosnia-Hercegovina

LD0911234590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1723 GMT 9 Nov 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—The present changes have brought about the transfer to republic level of the overall supervision in the field of all-people's defense, which will now be the duty of the Republican Secretariat for National Defense. This announcement came today from the Republican Secretariat for National Defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

This means that these tasks and duties will no longer be in the jurisdiction of municipalities and their administrative organs. In this way—in addition to some other reorganizations—the number of employees in this field in Bosnia-Hercegovina will be reduced by up to 18 percent. As part of the process of reorganization in the territorial defense forces, the headquarters of the territorial defense (regional headquarters) have been abolished in local communities and enterprises.

As for supervision, the Republican Secretariat for National Defense will be organized in such way as to have separate organizational units for this purpose in five cities in Bosnia-Hercegovina: Sarajevo, Tuzla, Banja Luka, Mostar, and Zenica. This comes from the statement from today's meeting with the secretaries of municipal secretariats and the Sarajevo city secretariat for national defense.